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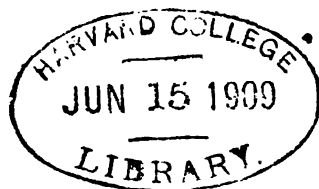


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PROVISIONAL LIST OF OLD HOUSES REMAINING
IN HIGH STREET AND CANONGATE OF
EDINBURGH

'Mine own romantic town. . . .
O, be his tomb as lead to lead
Upon it's dull destroyer's head.'

SIR WALTER SCOTT.

IT may be safely affirmed that, since 1860, two-thirds of the ancient buildings in the Old Town of Edinburgh have been demolished.

It goes without saying that a large number of those old buildings had necessarily to be removed in the interests of hygiene, and of a healthy recoil from the congested conditions under which our forefathers found themselves constrained to pass their lives. Had these desirable, and indeed indispensable clearances been effected with discrimination, and with a due regard to historic, literary, and æsthetic considerations, there might still have remained ground for a few sentimental regrets; but the common sense of the community would have recognised and accepted the inevitable, and there might have been, even from the standpoint of the artist and archæologist, a certain gain from the isolation and added conspicuousness of the more important examples which it had been deemed desirable to retain.

Unfortunately, the actual process has been widely different. Destruction, widespread, ruthless, and indiscriminating, has been the rule; rarely has any consideration beyond the most baldly utilitarian been allowed to influence the decision, and the result is that a large proportion of our most valuable historic and

architectural remains has been irretrievably lost to the city and to posterity.

This process, which has gone on practically unchecked for over sixty years, has now reached a point when, if aught of the venerable aspect and romantic interest of our city is to be maintained, an entirely different policy must be inaugurated. A united and vigorous effort must be made to rescue from the hands of the house-wrecking Philistine all that is possible of the few relics which still survive. Failing such effort the fatal 'too late,' must be the epitaph of the famous Old Town of Edinburgh.

The following attempt to record the existing, or recently existing, ancient buildings may, it is hoped, be of service as a practical basis for such an endeavour at conservation.

BEGINNING at the Esplanade, on the south side stands a building, popularly known as 'The Cannon Ball House,' dating from the reign of Charles I. It has survived three sieges, and has been a good deal knocked about and altered, so that its general aspect is more modern, but here and there it bears traces of its antiquity, and its date, 1630, crowns a dormer window on the west side. Its name, 'The Cannon Ball House,' is derived from a bullet said to have been fired from the Castle in 1745 and still sticking in the wall.¹ This house exhibits the unique peculiarity of stone grooves above and below the windows for outside sliding shutters. Immediately to the east stands the new Board School, erected nearly twenty years ago on the site of the stately mansion of the Duke of Gordon, governor of the Castle in 1689, the doorway of which, surmounted by the ducal coronet, has been rebuilt into the wall of the School-house at Boswell's Court.

To the east of the new Board School stands a handsome old tenement of hewn stone entering from Boswell's Court (so

¹ This legend is open to question.

named from a medical man there resident at the end of the eighteenth century). A doubtful tradition associates this land with the Earls of Bothwell.

These are the only ancient buildings remaining on the south side of Castlehill. On the north side—behind the reservoir—stands a group of houses erected by Professor Patrick Geddes, called Ramsay Garden, and reached from Ramsay Lane. Incorporated in this group we find the oddly shaped house known as 'The Guse Pie,' built for himself by Allan Ramsay the poet, and the somewhat later row erected by his son, the painter. These buildings are found in Edgar's Plan, dated 1742.

At the east corner of Ramsay Lane we come to 'The Outlook Tower,' the lower portion of which is antique, the upper part raised and remodelled for 'Short's Observatory.' This tenement is traditionally associated with the Laird o' Cockpen—not the great magnate who is supposed to have inspired Lady Nairne's lyric, but the more obscure proprietor who had been a boon-companion of Charles II. in his days of adversity, and having consequently been deprived of his patrimony, recovered his lands by playing the old Scots tune 'Brose and Butter' as a voluntary in the Chapel Royal, St. James's, in presence of the King, subsequent to the Restoration. Eastward from 'Outlook Tower,' and standing considerably back from the street, is the southern part of a good old house known as 'Lord Sempill's House.' The father or grandfather of this nobleman married Mary Livingstone, one of the 'Four Maries.' Between the gable of this house and the street front extends a row of ancient buildings, but the house facing the street is modern. This exhausts the list of ancient houses on the north side of Castlehill, but it may be worthy of note that the modern buildings of the United Free Church College, extending from this point to Milne's Court, almost exactly cover the site of the ancient group of buildings known as Mary of Guise's Palace.

On the same (north) side of the street, and immediately east

of the United Free Church College, stands a very large building of hewn stone forming the front of a courtyard—the whole erected by Robert Milne (builder of the newer Holyrood), and dating from 1690. These erections form one of the very earliest efforts at 'City Improvement.' On the east side of the quadrangle stands an old house, evidently of earlier date than Milne's tenements. Milne's Court commences the Lawnmarket.

Still proceeding eastward, we come to James's Court, with three separate entrances, the buildings surmounting which are all modern. Inside the court on the north side stands a very stately group of buildings, the western half of which is modern. The eastern half, however, dates from 1727, and is associated with the memories of many eminent citizens of the eighteenth century—among others, David Hume, James Boswell, and his guest Dr. Samuel Johnson, Dr. Blair, etc. A portion of the more ancient buildings, a survival from several closes removed to form this early sample of 'City Improvement,' bounds the court to the east.

Passing James's Court and its modern frontage, we reach a very picturesque old house known as 'Gladstone's Land,' where may still be seen the last example of the Arcades, once an almost universal feature in old Edinburgh streets. In the courtyard behind it we find the ancient mansion known as 'Lady Stair's House,' lately restored by Lord Rosebery.

On the north side of same courtyard stands a fine old land lately restored and utilised as a University Hall, and on the east side of the court are several ancient buildings, the fronts of which look into High Street and Bank Street. This exhausts the list of old houses on north side of Lawnmarket.

Returning on the south side to the West Bow, we find the upper part of that most interesting street entirely modernised, the new buildings extending for some small distance down the Lawnmarket. The tenements at the old Bow-Head—most characteristic and striking examples of ancient Edinburgh architecture—were unnecessarily and most unfortunately demolished

by civic authority in 1878—an irreparable loss to the antiquities of the city. Immediately below the new houses we find two tall and stately tenements of late Stuart style; next to them comes a more antique and very picturesque edifice with two characteristic dormers and a tall turret stair; next we have the only antique timber-fronted house remaining in the Lawnmarket, with a large and very effective gable; and finally, a stone-built land of many stories which runs into and is incorporated with the new-fronted buildings facing Melbourne Place.

Between the Bow and Melbourne Place, and behind the tenements above described, many interesting survivals are still to be found. On entering Riddle's Court we find an outer area, on the right-hand side of which stands the large turnpike stair which gave access to the first abode in Edinburgh tenanted by David Hume.¹

South of the stair of Hume's house is the arched entrance to the exceedingly quaint and picturesque inner court containing a fine old mansion with wainscotted walls and decorated plaster ceilings, the abode of Bailie Macmorran, a city magnate of the days of Queen Mary and James VI.

The next alley, Fisher's Close, contains on both sides very interesting and characteristic old houses extending about half-way down the descent to Victoria Terrace.

We next reach Brodie's Close, containing two small courts surrounded (except on the south) by quaint ancient buildings. This close has a fine old hall, the 'Roman Eagle Hall,' containing two remarkably interesting plaster ceilings of Charles I.'s time, and is further memorable as having contained the house of the notorious Deacon Brodie.

It is perhaps noteworthy that Deacon Brodie's criminal career began in 1786, the same year in which Robert Burns

¹ Four houses in Edinburgh are associated with Hume, the one in question, one opposite in James's Court, one in Jack's Land, Canongate, and the last at the intersection of St. David Street with St. Andrew Square.

came to Edinburgh, and that Burns's humble lodging in Baxter's Close was nearly opposite the Deacon's more imposing abode.

Buchanan's Court, a small area to the east of Brodie's Close and adjoining Melbourne Place, contains nothing of special interest, although the buildings are partially ancient.

Below Melbourne Place, on the south side of the High Street we find no more antique buildings fronting the street until we come to Niddry Street, and any small relics of former days behind the modern façades erected after the great fire of 1824 extending from the Police Office to Hunter Square have been almost utterly swept away within the last two or three years, to make room for the construction of Tron Square.

Returning now to the north side of the street at Bank Street, we pass eastward by Galloway's and Dunbar's Closes—once full of historic survivals, now destitute of interest—until we reach St. Giles Street, which marks the boundary between the Lawnmarket and High Street proper.

A few paces below St. Giles Street we come to Byres' Close (so called as containing on the west the Town House of John Byres of Coates), which is one of the best surviving examples of an Old Edinburgh close. It has a second arched entry some distance within the close, below which the buildings on the west side are modern. On the east side, however, the buildings are ancient to the foot. The close terminates on this east side in a handsome hexagonal apse, surmounted by picturesque sculptured dormers, and the house is of great historic interest as the residence of Adam Bothwell (Protestant) of Orkney, who married Queen Mary and the Earl of Bothwell. The Bishop was the father or grandfather of Lady Anne Bothwell, whose tragic story is commemorated in the classic Scots ballad, 'Lady Anne Bothwell's Lament.' The portions of these suites of buildings facing the High Street, both to east and west of the entry, have received modern stone fronts; but on the east side, early in the nineteenth century, the building had a tall and striking timber front, and the house itself was

famous as the residence of Sir William Dick of Braid, a wealthy merchant and Provost of Edinburgh, who played a prominent part in 1638-9 by financing the Convention of Estates and the Covenanting armies.

We next come to Advocates' Close, still containing at the upper extremity several very ancient and interesting houses. The lower part of the close, however, one of the most striking and characteristic in Edinburgh, was demolished in 1884.

Next we reach Roxburgh and Warriston Closes, from which almost every point of interest has disappeared.

The house at the head of Warriston Close is an exceedingly fine structure, dating from 1580, and showing underneath some remains of the old arcaded front.¹ This building was raised in height two stories by the late Duncan M'Laren, M.P. for the city.

The next entry is Writers' Court, which contained, until recently, an ancient and huge tenement in which was situate Clerihugh's Tavern, the scene of the 'High Jinks' in *Guy Mannering*. It has been demolished in connection with an extension of the Municipal Buildings (1908).

We next include in our list the Royal Exchange, now the Municipal Buildings. They were erected between 1750 and 1760, consequently are nearly one hundred and fifty years old. They cover the site of the notorious haunted close known as 'Mary King's Close.'

Next the Municipal Buildings come Allan's Close, Craig's Close (in which stood the office of Andro Hart, one of the earlier and more famous Scottish printers), and Old Post Office Close, all of which contain old buildings extending to the north. The houses fronting the High Street are more or less antique down to the Anchor Close. The Anchor Close, which till recently was only second in interest to the Advocates' Close, contains now only the ancient building fronting the High Street. This dates back to the sixteenth century. Dauney Douglas's tavern,

¹ The arcade was recently demolished to provide a wider access to the close (1908).

a favourite haunt of Robert Burns, in which the 'Crochallan Club' held its meetings, was located in the tenement at the head of Anchor Close. Lower down in this close stood the printing-office of William Smellie, printer of the Edinburgh edition of Burns and the 'Rattlin' Roarin' Willie' of the poet's lyric.

Between Anchor Close and Lyon Close the buildings fronting the street are modern, but there may still be fragments of old buildings in the rear. These buildings had become a slum area, and the Corporation in the present year (1902) demolished two ancient houses forming the side and end of a small courtyard known as 'Stamp Office Close.' The house on the west was the residence of Alexander, ninth Earl of Eglinton, whose Countess, Susannah, was one of the reigning beauties of her day (early eighteenth century). It was at a later date occupied by Fortune's Tavern, and here the Lord High Commissioner, Lord Leven, held his court year after year (*vide* David Allan's print, 1793). The house to the north had a vaulted basement. Both were remarkably fine specimens of the Old Edinburgh mansion.

Two or three years ago the Corporation demolished the interesting old house of Lady Munro of Fowlis, which stood a little to the west of the Eglinton mansion (1902).

Between Lyon's Close and Cockburn Street the houses fronting the street are old, and in Lyon's Close, Jackson's Close, and Fleshmarket Close a number of ancient buildings extend toward the north.

Milne Square to the west and Halkerston's Wynd, Kinloch's Close, and Carrubber's Close to the east of new North Bridge have been entirely wiped out to admit of the wider roadway, and with them have gone the two quaint timber-fronted houses associated with the name of Allan Ramsay.

Below Carrubber's Close comes Bishop's Close, with little or nothing old left in it. Next we reach North Gray's and Morrison's Closes, in both of which there are still found

considerable remains of ancient building. Then comes Bailie Fyfe's Close, with an interesting row of picturesque old houses, that next the head of the close bearing a shield on which are impaled the arms of Hay and Parlane (a Yorkshire family).

The quaint old houses in Morrison's and in Bailie Fyfe's Closes have been doomed within the last four weeks by the Dean of Guild Court (1902). They are to be pulled down and rebuilt, from No. 107 to No. 119, by J. and G. Stewart, whisky merchants.

In Paisley Close, which comes next, a fine old tenement yet survives, and then we reach Barringer's Close, at the head of which stood the last timber-fronted house¹ on the north side of the High Street, except the well-known outstanding group at John Knox's Corner.

Little or nothing now survives until we come to the John Knox group, where in Trunk Close, in rear of the 'Corner,' a considerable fragment of the ancient Mowbray mansion is still to be found. It is one of the most interesting relics remaining in Edinburgh. Between Knox's House and Netherbow nothing is left, so we cross to the south side of the street and retrace our steps. In World's End Close little or nothing remains, but immediately to the west we come to Tweeddale Court, in which still survives the Town House of the Tweeddale family. The next alley to the west is Fountain Close, where remains the fine old mansion of Adam Fullerton, a prominent citizen of Queen Mary's time. Fullerton, a King's man, regained his house after the siege in 1573, and commemorated the event by erecting a new double doorway, with his own name, his wife's, and a series of characteristic mottoes surmounting the entrance. Another fine old tenement still survives further down the close and adjoining Tweeddale House. The front houses between Fountain Close and South Gray's Close are mostly modern; one fine old tenement still stands above the entrance to South Gray's Close, while in the rear, behind South Foulis Close and

¹ This fine old house, and a still finer and greater stone mansion adjoining it to the east, are in process of demolition (1902).

Hyndford's Close, a vast amount of ancient and interesting building has been cleared away. Between South Gray's Close and Blackfriars Street little or nothing remains near the High Street, except a handsome old mansion abutting on South Gray's Close, but entering from Blackfriars Street, now occupied as St. Anne's Catholic School (1908).

On the west side of Blackfriars Street are still to be seen the remains of the Town House of Regent Morton, and adjoining it, but entering from Strichen's Close, some fragments of the mansion of the Abbots of Melrose, in which, at a later date, dwelt Sir George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh, the 'Bluidy Mackenyie' of Scottish Covenanting tradition.

The buildings which front the street between Strichen's Close and Niddry Street are more or less antique in character, mainly substantial erections of hewn stone. Some of them were historically associated with the Collegiate Church of Crichton, but in the closes behind, Dickson's Close and Cant's Close, only small fragments of an ancient wealth of storied houses survive.

The foregoing is a brief provisional resumé of old buildings, from sixteenth to eighteenth century inclusive, now existing between Castlehill and Netherbow, which may serve perhaps as preliminary to a more elaborate and complete survey on a larger scale, and with each century's work distinguished by a different colour.

CANONGATE, 1902

Proceeding down the Netherbow to the Canongate, we pass, on the north side, the openings of the modern Jeffrey and Cranstoun Streets. Below the latter stands a United Free Church, adjoining which, in Rae's Close, we find a small fragment of ancient building. We next come to Morocco Close, the large tenement in front of which, decorated with the effigy of a Moor,

is a memorial of one of the most curious and interesting Old Edinburgh legends associated with the last outbreak of plague in 1645. Passing now some modern buildings under which are the openings of Seton's and Kinloch's Closes and another nameless alley, we come to older lands, some of the eighteenth century, which extend to the corner of New Street.

In New Street itself almost all the fine old eighteenth-century mansions, tenanted by Lord Hailes, Lord Monboddo, and other celebrities of the period, have been destroyed by the North British Railway and by the Corporation Gas Works. On the east side, however, a little below the head of the street, still stands the town house of the well-known philosopher and judge, Henry Home, Lord Kames, a very prominent and popular member of Old Edinburgh society.

Below New Street we come to Little Jack's Close—still retaining some remains of ancient building—and Big Jack's Close, fronted by tenements of late seventeenth or early eighteenth century's date. In Big Jack's Land, fronting the close, Susannah, Countess of Eglinton (whose abode in Stamp Office Close has been demolished this present year, 1902) passed the later years of her life. In the same land, from 1753 to 1762, dwelt David Hume, and here, it is said, he composed the greater part of his *History of England*. In a court behind Big Jack's Close on the east side stood till lately some remains of the Town House of that fierce old cavalier, Sir Thomas Dalziel of Binns.

We next come to Shoemaker's Close, the building to the east of which is modern but adjoins a succession of old and interesting houses, the property of the Cordiners' or Shoemakers' Corporation.

Below the Shoemakers' Lands comes a series of modern buildings reaching to Miller's Close, on the east of which we come to a quaint old tenement closely adjoining the extremely picturesque and interesting Canongate Tolbooth, with its spire, turrets, and projecting clock. Next we reach the Canongate

Church, erected about the time of the Revolution, 1688-90, to take the place of Holyrood Chapel, which had previously served as Parish Church, but was first appropriated by James II., and then dismantled during the disorders of the period. The building is simple and unadorned but of good proportion, and is a favourable example of the style of the period. In the churchyard lie interred many notabilities, including Adam Smith, economist; Robert Fergusson, poet; Dugald Stewart, philosopher; 'Grecian' Williams, artist; Horatius Bonar, hymn writer, and many others. Passing the Canongate Church and Churchyard, we come to the modern Burgh School, and after Dunbar's Close we arrive at Panmure Close, some yards within which on the east side stands an old-fashioned tenement marked 'Cadell House' on the Ordnance Map, and, passing on, an iron gate gives access to a courtyard in which still stands 'Panmure House,' noteworthy as the residence of Adam Smith, the economist, 1778-90. There are also some old relics on the west side of Panmure Close.

Next to Panmure Close comes Brown's Court, a very quaint and interesting old enclosure.

After Brown's Court come Munro's Close, Little Lochend Close, and Big Lochend Close, the fronts of which are relatively modern, but in the rear of the two latter are still found some remains of older building. We next reach Reid's Court, a rather interesting courtyard enclosed by buildings of the eighteenth century. Two lodge-like buildings front the street, and in the rear stands the central mansion with projecting wings, the whole forming a simple but pleasing combination.

Below Reid's Court we find Campbell's, Brown's,¹ and Malloch's Closes, the buildings in front of which are all more or less antique. The east side of Malloch's Close next the street is modern, but there are some older buildings behind.

¹ The tenement in front of Brown's Close is the well-known 'Golfer's Land,' concerning the acquisition of which there is an interesting legend.

Next comes a nameless alley with an old house in front, next a new house abutting on Forsyth's Close, thereafter some older buildings extending on both sides of Galloway's Entry. In rear of Galloway's Entry still stands the old mansion of Whitefoord House, on or near the site occupied in still older times by 'My Lord Seatoun's Lugging,' described in Scott's *Abbot*, all trace of which has long disappeared.

Below Galloway's Entry and in rear of Ramsay's Close some remains of old building still survive. Then passing Duncan's Close we come to the White Horse Close, the entire quadrangle of which, extending from Canongate to North Back of Canongate, has been recently restored by the 'Social Union' and fitted up as commodious dwellings for the humbler class of the community. There is not in Edinburgh any more picturesque or interesting group of buildings than that in White Horse Close. Below them one other old tenement survives before we reach the Water Gate.

The street front at Water Gate is now occupied by a new building in old style, erected by Professor Geddes, a decided addition to the amenity of the district. Below Water Gate there still remains an unbroken group of old buildings extending from the Abbey Strand to the precincts of Holyrood. These buildings, fronting towards Abbeyhill as well as Canongate, enclose an irregular but picturesque quadrangle called Thomson's Court. Many of them were, up to a recent date, occupied as lodgings by debtors who availed themselves of the immunity from arrest afforded by the Abbey Sanctuary.

We now retrace our steps and return westward along the south side of the street. We may note here the blank arcade on the wall of the Abbey Court House which indicates the site of the beautiful Gothic Porch erected by Merlioun in 1502 and wantonly demolished by the keeper of the Palace in 1753. We next come to the Abbey Strand, pass the Horse Wynd, and proceed westward, till we reach the lower extremity of the wall enclosing Queensberry House almost opposite Galloway's

Entry. Between the Horse Wynd and this point there are no remains of any interest. Queensberry House, standing in its own grounds in rear of its retaining wall, is a huge structure dating from the later years of Charles II.'s reign (1681-2). It has been raised a story in height and has been denuded of the architectural features which, towards its roof, added dignity and picturesqueness to the mansion. It is now occupied as a House of Refuge for the destitute poor. Passing westward we come to Vallance's Entry, in which a quaint little bit of old building still survives. We next arrive at Reid's Close, giving access to a courtyard, whence, at the east corner, proceeds an alley called Haddington's Entry, which leads to the town house of the Earls of Haddington, abutting on the South Back of the Canongate. The very picturesque old mansion on the west side of Reid's Close was the town house of Lord Dirleton, whose *Doubts* are a well-known contribution to the literature of Scots Law. The next close is Strathie's Entry, and then comes Milton House Public School, lately erected on the site of the eighteenth-century mansion of Lord Milton. We next reach a very interesting group of old houses on the street front under which enter Stewart's Close and Bull's Close.¹ Next comes a group of modern houses, adjuncts to a brewery occupying the sites of Carfrae's Entry and Gentle's Close, the latter of which has entirely disappeared. Then we reach Cooper's Entry and Wilson's Court, the buildings of which, both on street front and behind, are largely antique. Passing a small modern house we come to Slater's Entry and next to Bakehouse Close, one of the most important survivals remaining in Edinburgh. The ancient houses in Bakehouse Close run back a considerable distance on both sides. Fronting the street we find a remarkably fine timber-fronted tenement, adorned with three gables, which is said to have been the mansion of George, sixth Earl and first Marquis

¹ The tenement next the yards of Milton House School has just been demolished and replaced by a building of entirely commonplace character (October, 1908).

of Huntly, who slew the 'Bonnie Earl o' Moray,' as recorded in the ballad. The house is inscribed in front with a series of quaint mottoes from which it derives the name of 'The Speaking House.' It is directly opposite the Canongate Tolbooth. Within the close, on the east side a small walled fore-court gives access to the stately abode of Sir Archibald Acheson, bearing above its doorway his crest—a cock standing on a trumpet—the motto *Vigilantibus*. It is a very fine example of a mansion of Charles I.'s period. Between Bakehouse Close and Moray House there are no old buildings on the street front, but in the rear, near Moray House, a few relics still survive. Moray House itself—now occupied as a training college for teachers—is probably the finest example of an early seventeenth-century mansion remaining in Edinburgh. It stands in its own grounds, which extend all the way down to the South Back of Canongate, and it has been the scene of many important and romantic historic episodes. Near the foot of the garden stands the little stone summer-house in which the Treaty of Union is said to have been signed.

Passing Moray House with its modern lodge, we come to the large and massive eighteenth-century tenement which gives access under a covered archway to St. John Street, perhaps the most important of all the earlier efforts at city improvement. Entrance to this tenement is gained by a great turret staircase on the south side of the building.¹ In one of the flats or stories dwelt Mrs. Telfer, of Scotstoun, sister of Tobias Smollett, the novelist, and here he lived with her during his second and last residence in Edinburgh in 1766. St. John Street runs southward to the South Back of the Canongate, and is composed of a row of stately self-contained houses, substantially built and handsomely appointed. Here, previous to the general migration to the New Town, dwelt a large number of the most distinguished members of the Scottish society of the period. The west side of the street has some good houses of the same style

¹ Mrs. Telfer is said, in a letter of Smollett's, to have occupied a house 'one stair up.'

and date, but not, as on the east side, a continuous row. Among these, near the north end of the street, stands the ancient Chapel of the Masonic Lodge St. John's or 'The Canongate Kilwinning,' of which Robert Burns was a member and in which he held the office of 'Bard.' Immediately above St. John Street a picturesque old house gives access to an equally picturesque little court, called St. John's Close, nearly opposite which a mark on the causeway indicates the site of the ancient St. John's Cross.¹ We next come to one of the most striking old lands in the Canongate, adorned with a double row of dormer windows, having an entry called Old Playhouse Close, which opens into an alley where stood an early Edinburgh theatre.² In this alley the old houses extend a considerable distance to the rear, and the whole combination is quaint and interesting. The next close, opening under a new-fronted building, is also Playhouse Close, and retains behind the front tenement some ancient remains. Next a fine old house, with a terraced roof, gives access to Weir's Close, in rear of which is a considerable amount of antique building. A hideous new brick edifice erected during the present year (1902) comes next, and gives access to Miln's Close, in which little or nothing of interest has been allowed to survive. West of Miln's Close, beginning at Watson's Close, extending past Plainstones Close, Chessel's Court, Pirrie's Close, and terminating at Gullan's Close, comes a succession of more or less ancient and interesting edifices.³ The interior of Plainstones Close, which used to be a favourite subject with artists, was dismantled and destroyed some years ago; but in Chessel's Court, extending a considerable distance southward, we find a series of old houses, which, though less antique than those demolished in Plainstones Close, afford

¹ So called from its indicating the 'Temple Lands' of Canongate—a triangular enclosure with its apex on St. John's Hill.

² The building with its dressing-rooms still exists, the former being incorporated in the Brewery buildings.

³ A new and commonplace tenement has been quite lately erected in front of Plainstones Close (1906).

nevertheless a series of very characteristic illustrations of old-fashioned Scottish modes of life. The gardens in rear of Chessel's Court buildings still survive.

The venerable tenement terminating at the entrance to Gullan's Close finishes the series of antique buildings on the south side of the Canongate. Nothing more of interest remains between this point and St. Mary Street at Netherbow.

We have now traversed the whole extent of the High Street and Canongate, giving an approximately accurate sketch of ancient survivals, and this outline may perhaps serve as a groundwork for a more systematic and exhaustive review of the small and rapidly decreasing number of antique buildings which are all that remain of the once famous Old Town of Edinburgh.

OUTLYING PARTS OF OLD TOWN

Having now traversed the High Street and the Canongate from the Castlehill to Holyrood, we proceed to the outlying parts beyond the central avenue, but within the limits of the City Wall, the Nor' Loch, and the North and South Backs of Canongate. Turning first to North Back, we find that the North British Railway and the Gas Works have between them cleared out the whole thoroughfare as far as Tolbooth Wynd and Canongate Churchyard. Between the churchyard and the Watergate a few old buildings remain: an old tenement at foot of Campbell's Close, next two lodges connected by an arched gateway, forming the entrance to Callender House, an eighteenth-century mansion closely adjoining Whitefoord House on its west side. Next we come to two old buildings at the north end of Duncan's Close, adjoining White Horse Close. One of these buildings, occupied as a smithy, was probably the smithy attached to the White Horse Inn. The White Horse Close itself—already noted on its Canongate side—extends right through to North Back of Canongate. Its north elevation

stands on that roadway. It is built entirely of stone, rising from a long range of vaulted apartments which served for the inn stables, and having on its roof a double row of dormer windows. A little way northward, on the line of Abbeyhill, stands the quaint little edifice known as Queen Mary's Bath. Passing by way of Holyrood to the South Back of Canongate, we may note at the south-east corner an old house of late Stuart date incorporated in the line of royal stables and outbuildings which fronts the Palace. Behind this row of outbuildings, and extending from Canongate to the South Back, we come to a narrow street called the Horse Wynd, probably from its proximity to some earlier royal stables. In this street on its west side stands a very handsome tenement of the early eighteenth century, and at its south extremity, same side, we find an old-fashioned abode known as Lothian Vale. Passing westward by the south or garden wall of Queensberry House, we reach the south opening of Haddington's Entry, where we still find the old mansion of the Earl of Haddington—of date late seventeenth or early eighteenth century. Near the south end of the next—Reid's Close—another small mansion survives, vaguely associated with the Aberdeen family. This house still contains an exceedingly interesting series of mural paintings which must now be almost unique in Edinburgh (1902). Passing onward, we come to a small quadrangle of the eighteenth century, forming the south extremity of St. John's Street, beyond which nothing of interest survives until we come to St. Mary Street.

In St. Mary Street stands a tall old land, occupied as workshops, and, nearer the Cowgate, a quaint little seventeenth-century house. We now enter the Cowgate, and passing the old carriage entrance to Tweeddale House, we come next to St. Patrick's Roman Catholic Church, on the open ground between Tweeddale Court and South Gray's Close, which was once the Tweeddale garden. It is a rather handsome edifice, with tower and cupola, and was, until the erection

of St. Paul's, York Place, the most fashionable Episcopal Church in Edinburgh. The building was erected in 1771. It was subsequently sold to the Relief Church, and finally, in recent years, acquired by the Roman Catholics. We now reach, near the foot of South Gray's Close, a stately old mansion of L form, with a small fore-court, the former abode of the Lords Elphinstone. Passing next *on the south side*, the vacant sites of Bull's Close (said to include some relics of the Blackfriars' Monastery) and the once picturesque buildings of the High School Wynd, *on the north side*, the sites of the Old Mint and of Archbishop Beatoun's mansion, we find an old tenement in Blackfriars Street, on the west side, some distance below the remains of Regent Morton's house. Between Blackfriars Street and Niddry Street a few scattered relics of ancient buildings still remain. At the foot of Niddry Street, the building containing old St. Cecilia Hall, erected in 1762 by Robert Mylne (architect of Blackfriars Bridge and a lineal descendant of the Royal Master Builders), still survives. It was, for a number of years, the fashionable concert hall of Edinburgh, for which use it proved both elegant and commodious. In later years, up to the era of School Boards, it was occupied as a seminary known as Dr. Bell's School. On the south side of the Cowgate, between High School Wynd and South Bridge, old remains are more numerous. They exist chiefly in Robertson's Close and South Niddry Street, and include an old self-contained residence with a small fore-court.¹

Passing now to the west of South Bridge, there is little of interest on either side till we reach Guthrie Street, formerly the Horse Wynd. The College Wynd, in which Scott was born, has been obliterated, except a short cul-de-sac. A few fragments of old masonry still survive behind Hastie's Close, but, with these exceptions, the whole area up to the Old Horse Wynd has been entirely cleared out and rebuilt. On the north

¹ All these antique buildings, with the exception of a few fragments at Robertson's Close, have been cleared away since 1902.

side a still more radical clearance has been effected by the erection of the large group of municipal working-men's houses—named Tron Square—and so, with the exception of one old house at foot of Old Assembly Close, we find nothing antique till we reach Old Fishmarket Close. In this close we find one antique tenement¹ and some remains of old buildings incorporated in the large block occupied till lately as Neill and Co.'s printing office. Another ancient tenement still survives at the foot of the close and two old-fashioned buildings remain in Heron's Court. There are also some antique fragments² further west, adjoining the new Sheriff Courts, George IV. Bridge. On the south side of the street, however, between Guthrie Street and George IV. Bridge ancient remains are more numerous and more interesting. At the west corner of Guthrie Street, formerly Horse Wynd, there is a half-timbered tenement extending some distance southward, and beyond it a fine mansion of late seventeenth or early eighteenth century, the old-time abode of the Countess of Galloway. This house contains a very handsome lobby and staircase in which a quantity of fine balustrading still survives. Stretching westward on the line of the Cowgate we find several substantial lands of eighteenth-century date containing some points of interest. Passing next two modern buildings we come to one of the most interesting edifices, not in the Cowgate only, but in the City. This is the very stately and symmetrical tenement of Charles I. period, known as 'The Tailors' Hall,' a remarkably fine example of old Scottish domestic architecture. As we pass under its archway we find an almost equally fine building of the same date forming the back part of a quadrangle. It would seem from two long and interesting inscriptions that the inner building was the 'Tailors' Hall' proper, and that the outer land fronting the street was for residential use from the first. The group has many interesting historic associations. It was the scene of the convention which immediately preceded the signing

¹ Now demolished (1908).

² Now demolished (1908).

of the National Covenant, it served as a Court House for Cromwell's Commission on forfeited estates, and it was long utilised as a theatre. *The fine front building, though structurally sound, is now standing derelict, condemned as insanitary, and in danger of early demolition.* Behind the inner block, stretching southward at right angles, still another antique building remains, although now falling into ruin.¹ This erection abuts on the west on Scott's Close, and the whole group, excepting the Cowgate front building, has long been occupied by Campbell's Brewery. The land to the west of the Cowgate front of Tailors' Hall is a fine tenement of the same date, but apparently quite independent of the larger structure adjoining. Still passing westward, we find in Rattray's, Campbell's, and Hume's Closes a number of antique buildings, most of which were lately occupied by Raeburn's Brewery but have now been acquired by the Heriot-Watt College, which has already demolished some of them. The greater part, however, still remains, and in Campbell's Close there is access to the group by an exceedingly picturesque and interesting arched gateway.

This very interesting group of substantial ancient buildings has been almost entirely demolished to make room for the extension of the Heriot-Watt College (1908).

This brings us to George IV. Bridge, passing which on the south we have the ancient chapel and spire of St. Mary Magdalene, occupied from an early period as the hall of the Guild of Hammermen. An old-fashioned house at the corner of Candlemaker Row completes our survey of the Cowgate on the south side.² On the north side, west of the Edinburgh Public Library, we find a rather striking antique tenement, and passing the new United Free Church buildings we come to another interesting group at the point of intersection between the Cowgate and the Grassmarket. Behind these groups, in the space between the Cowgate, West Bow, and Victoria Street, a

¹ Now demolished (1908).

² Now demolished (1908).

considerable amount of old building, or rather fragments of building, still survives.¹

We may include in our survey the eighteenth-century tenements which remain in Merchant Street, Brown Square, and the 'Society,' all in their way more or less interesting, but which do not at present demand specific description.

Returning next by Candlemaker Row, we find, extending from near the gateway of the Greyfriars Churchyard to the bend of the street opposite Merchant Street, a row of buildings more or less antique. The most important of these is a stately tenement with a staircase tower—the Hall of the Candlemakers' Corporation: a somewhat similar tenement comes next, and lower down stands the old Harrow Inn, an agricultural hostelry of earlier days, immortalised in the *Noctes Ambrosianæ*. Next we come to one or two modern tenements, below which stood till lately a very ancient and picturesque house with a covered-in outside stair, said to have existed before the Reformation. A very quaint old building on the opposite side of the Row was removed by the authorities about a year ago (1902). We now come to the lower West Bow and Grassmarket.

On the south side of the Grassmarket, once so venerable and so picturesque, very little remains. Some rather fragmentary relics in rear of Warden's, Aird's, and Hunter's Closes, one or two eighteenth-century houses between these remains and Heriot Bridge, are all that survive in rear of the street. On the street front two fine old tenements (one with a terraced roof) still stand immediately beyond Heriot Bridge. One other old building (1690) is found at the corner of the Vennel. On the north side survivals are more numerous and important. Two large tenements of late Stuart date still stand on the east side of the West Bow, and on the west side, where it enters the Grassmarket, no fewer than five quaint and attractive old 'lands' survive as a memorial of the famous old thoroughfare. The most southerly of these has a front on the

¹ These buildings are now almost utterly cleared away (1908).

Grassmarket, and another old house stands to the west of it. Behind these antique buildings—in Dewar's Close—a number of old fragments still survive. On the street front, midway between West Bow and Castle Wynd, there are two more seventeenth-century tenements, and, on the east side of Castle Wynd, a massive wall of hewn stone appears to be a part of some ancient edifice now removed. At the south-east corner of Castle Wynd stands an eighteenth-century house, and behind it, in Thomson's Court, a somewhat fragmentary building of a little earlier date. Opposite the wall, on the west side of the Castle Wynd, there is another old building, and between the wynd and King's Stables Road two large and important lands are still found. One of these is partly occupied as the White Hart Inn, the other was formerly called the Black Bull Inn. In rear of these buildings, between the street front and Johnston Terrace, there are a number of old buildings, occupied chiefly as stables and outhouses by the different inns, and with such a mixture of old and new that it is difficult to differentiate them. One range runs upward on the east side behind the old Black Bull Inn, a fragment behind the Beehive Inn, another range behind the Clydesdale Inn, east side, and, behind the White Hart Inn, a large group occupying three sides of a quadrangle. The central building at north end of this group projects a good way beyond the back line of the quadrangle, and is a good and interesting example of the old style, having two chimneys with bold cornice plates.

We have now completed our survey of the ancient City within the walls, and the Canongate between the two back streets which bound it. There are other buildings more or less antique and interesting beyond these limits, but in going further afield it is difficult to draw a line, and, as by far the most ancient and most valuable remains are found within the City and Burgh boundaries, it seems prudent to concentrate our attention on these.

Should it become desirable at some later period to deal

with the more outlying remains of an older time, a separate monograph may be prepared, and this would better serve any useful purpose. Meantime, if any serious effort is to be made with a view to preserve the sparse monuments which still exist, it will assuredly be wise to concentrate our attention and our efforts, in the first place, within the historic boundaries of the City and the Burgh.

LIST OF OLDER PUBLIC BUILDINGS IN EDINBURGH WHOSE
EXISTENCE IS NOT THREATENED AT PRESENT

1. Antique buildings in Edinburgh Castle, including St. Margaret's Chapel, the Palace, the Great Hall, the Portcullis or Argyll Tower, and the old Fort-Major's House.
2. Holyrood Palace and Chapel, Queen Mary's Bath, Croft-an-righ House, Abbey Court-House, and house at southern extremity of Holyrood outbuildings.
3. St. Giles' Church.
4. The Parliament House.
5. Heriot's Hospital.
6. Greyfriars' Churches and Monuments.
7. Lady Stair's House.
8. City Chambers and Royal Exchange.
9. Canongate Tolbooth.
10. Queensberry House.
11. Moray House.
12. St. Patrick's Catholic Church.
13. Apse of Trinity College Church (in Chalmers' Close).
14. Canongate Church.

LIST OF OLDER PUBLIC OR SEMI-PUBLIC BUILDINGS IN EDIN-
BURGH WHOSE OUTLOOK IS LESS ASSURED

15. Tron Church.
16. John Knox's House and Trunk Close.

LIST OF OLD BUILDINGS

25

17. Cordwainers' Hall, and adjoining tenements.
18. United Industrial School, now St. Ann's Catholic School.
19. St. Cecilia Hall.
20. Tailors' Hall, Cowgate.
21. Magdalene Chapel (Hammermen's Hall).
22. Candlemakers' Hall.
23. Roman Eagle Hall.
24. Bakehouse Close (Huntly House, Acheson House, etc.).
25. Whitehorse Close.

LIST OF BUILDINGS POSSESSING HISTORIC, ANTIQUARIAN, OR ARCHITECTURAL INTEREST WHICH IT IS DESIRABLE TO PRESERVE AS FAR AS MAY BE POSSIBLE

26. 'Cannon Ball House' and adjuncts, Castlehill.
27. Fine old house adjoining Tolbooth Church.
28. Lord Sempill's house, Castlehill.
29. Milne's Court, Lawnmarket.
30. Old buildings in James's Court.
31. Gladstone's Land and adjuncts.
32. Old house, corner of Bank Street.
33. Other old buildings, Wardrop's Court.
34. Ancient buildings on south side of Lawnmarket, including buildings within—(a) Riddle's Court; (b) Fisher's Close; (c) Brodie's Close; (d) Buchanan's Court.
35. Houses of Adam Bothwell and of John Byres of Coates, Byres' Close.
36. Ancient houses extending from Byres' Close to Writers' Court, including buildings in—(a) Byres' Close; (b) Advocates' Close; (c) Roxburgh Close; (d) head of Warriston Close.
37. Old houses at head of and within Allan's, Craig's, and Old Post Office Closes.
38. Ancient house at head of Anchor Close.
39. Old houses at head of and within Lyon's, Jackson's, and Old Fleshmarket Closes.

40. Old houses¹ in North Gray's, Morrison's and Bailie Fyfe's Closes—*very good examples.*
N.B.—Most of these (Nos. 107-119) are already doomed by decision of the Dean of Guild Court, in favour of J. and G. Stewart, whisky dealers (1902).
41. Old houses in Niddry Street (at head) and in High Street, between Niddry and Blackfriars Street, in front of Dickson's, Cant's, and Strichen's Closes (south side of the street).
42. Ancient buildings in Strichen's Close, including remains of Abbot of Melrose's House.
43. Remains of Regent Morton's house, in Blackfriars Street.
44. Ancient buildings in and behind High Street, between South Gray's Close and Tweeddale Court, including—
 (a) Adam Fullerton's House, Fountain Close; (b) Tweeddale Mansion, Tweeddale Court.

CANONGATE (NORTH SIDE)

45. Morocco Land.
46. Lord Kames's house (head of New Street).
47. Big Jack's Land.
48. Shoemakers' Corporation Buildings.
49. Old house, west side Canongate Tolbooth.
50. Panmure House and Cadell House, Panmure Close.
51. Brown's Court, Lochend Close, and Little Lochend Close.
52. Reid's Court.
53. Old buildings between Reid's Court and Brown's Close, including Golfer's Land.
54. Old buildings in Campbell's Close.
55. Whitefoord House and Callender House in Galloway's Entry (the site of Lord Seton's Lodging—*vide The Abbot, Scott*).
56. Old building adjoining the Watergate.

¹ Now demolished (1908).

57. Group of old buildings at the Abbey Strand, including Thomson's Court.
57a. Abbey Court House.

CANONGATE (SOUTH SIDE)

58. Nisbet of Dirleton's house.
59. Group of ancient buildings¹ between Milton House School and Carfrae's Entry.
60. Group of old houses in front and rear of Wilson's Court and Cooper's Entry.
61. Very important group of ancient buildings in front and in rear of Bakehouse Close and Slater's Court, including—
(a) Marquis of Huntly's house, opposite the Canongate Tolbooth; (b) Sir Archibald Acheson's house in Bakehouse Close.
62. Group of houses fronting street between Moray House and Playhouse Close.
63. St. John Street.
64. St. John's Close.
65. Old Playhouse Close.
66. Buildings in front and rear of Weir's Close.
67. Buildings on street front between Watson's Close and Gullan's Close.
68. Buildings in rear of the above, including important group in Chessel's Court, and houses in Plainstones² and Pirrie's closes.

NORTH BACK OF CANONGATE

69. Old house, foot of Campbell's Close.
70. Lodges and Gateway, Callender House.
71. North front, Whitehorse Close, and adjoining houses in Duncan's Close.

¹ Partly demolished and rebuilt, October 1908.

² House in front of Plainstones Close now demolished and rebuilt (1908).

SOUTH BACK OF CANONGATE

- 72. Fine house of eighteenth century in Horse Wynd.
- 73. Lothian Vale House, corner of Horse Wynd.
- 74. Haddington House, Haddington's Entry.
- 75. Small mansion house, Reid's Close, containing eight mural paintings.
- 76. Small quadrangle at southern extremity of St. John Street.

COWGATE TO SOUTH BRIDGE

- 77. Elphinstone House, South Gray's Close (east side).
- 78. Old buildings in Robertson's Close and South Niddry Street—including small mansion, with fore-court in South Niddry Street.¹

COWGATE TO GEORGE IV. BRIDGE

- 79. Old house, foot of Old Assembly Close.
- 80. Old tenements, foot of Fishmarket Close.
- 81. Two houses, Heron's Court.
- 82. Lady Galloway's house, Guthrie Street (west side).
- 83. Half-timbered building, corner of Cowgate and Horse Wynd (Guthrie Street).
- 84. Houses (eighteenth-century) extending on street front from Guthrie Street (Horse Wynd) to corner of Kincaid's Close.
- 85. Very fine old tenement in front of Tailors' Hall.
- 86. Fine old tenement west of above.
- 87. Tailors' Hall in courtyard behind front tenement.
- 88. Old buildings in Rattray's, Campbell's and Hume's Closes, the greater part till lately included in Raeburn's Brewery.²

COWGATE TO GRASSMARKET

- 89. Old house, east side of United Free Church buildings.
- 90. Group of old houses, west side of United Free Church buildings.

¹ Almost entirely demolished (1908).

² Now demolished (1908).

CANDLEMAKER ROW, ETC. ETC.

91. Group of old houses, west side, extending from *near* Greyfriars Gate to Merchant Street (opposite side) and including Candlemakers' Hall and old Harrow Inn.
92. Groups of eighteenth-century houses in Merchant Street, Brown Square, and Society.

GRASSMARKET (SOUTH SIDE)

93. Old house, corner of Vennel (1690).
94. Two fine old houses at west angle of Heriot Bridge.
95. Eighteenth-century houses and other fragments between Candlemaker Row and Heriot Bridge.

GRASSMARKET (NORTH SIDE) INCLUDING WEST BOW

96. Two fine tenements of late Stuart date on the east side of the lower West Bow.
97. Five fine antique tenements extending from Victoria Street to Grassmarket, with a frontage in the latter street, being south-western termination of the old West Bow.
98. Old land in Grassmarket adjoining south front of West Bow tenement.
99. Two ancient buildings midway between West Bow and Castle Wynd.
100. Eighteenth-century house, corner Castle Wynd.
101. Beautiful wall of ashlar work, remains of some important building, east side of Castle Wynd.
102. Old buildings in the rear of Dewar's Close near the West Bow.
103. Old house, west side of Castle Wynd.
104. Large old tenement partially occupied by the White Hart Inn, with some interesting old buildings in rear.
105. The old Black Bull Inn, with some old buildings behind in Brown's Close.

I cannot better conclude these notes than by quoting the eloquent words of Sir Henry Craik :—

‘Between Holyrood and the Castle . . . there ran one long street flanked by lofty tenements to which access was gained by grim, narrow and noisome passages. Along that street the pageants of centuries had passed; high festival and darkest tragedy had been enacted on its causeways; struggles that had shaken all modern nations had seen many of their most exciting episodes transacted there; and the annals of some of the most illustrious houses of Europe must recall that street in telling of the fates of their most conspicuous members. . . . Here, up to the middle of the eighteenth century, in houses piled up story upon story, whose only access was by a foul-smelling common stair . . . there congregated a proud, albeit a poor aristocracy, a gay and most sprightly society, and one of the most learned and witty professional circles of which Britain could boast.’

Such was the old High Street of Edinburgh. Would that we were all enabled to realise more fully that it is a great civic possession and a great national trust—not merely a ‘happy hunting-ground’ for sanitary surveyors and utilitarian officials.

BRUCE J. HOME.

20th March, 1908.

THE EMBALMING OF MONTROSE

MUCH has been written regarding the Execution of the 'Great' Marquis of Montrose in 1650, and the ceremonious burial of his remains in the Chepman Aisle of St. Giles' Cathedral in 1661.

Contemporary documents have been discovered from time to time throwing light upon minute details of these events, but certain interesting accounts of the Lord Lyon, now preserved in the General Register House, incurred in connection with the embalming and State funeral of the remains of the 'Great' Marquis, do not appear to have previously been published. Before giving transcriptions of these, a brief reference to some of the well-authenticated incidents of the period to which they belong may not be inappropriate.

On the morning of Friday, 17th May 1650, a select number of the Committee of Estates, which then constituted the Scottish Parliament, assembled in hot haste in order to decide the fate of Montrose, who was at that moment being conveyed, an outlawed prisoner, towards the capital. Three weeks before—on April 27th—his last hopes of regaining Scotland for Charles II. had been shattered when Colonel Strachan practically annihilated his slender force at Carbisdale, near the Pass of Invercharron. A few days later he was betrayed by Neil M'Leod of Assynt into the hands of General Leslie, who had him at once conveyed to Edinburgh.

The brief deliberations of the select committee resulted in an 'Acte ordaining James Grhame to be brought from the Watter Gate on a cairte beare headit, the hangman in his liverie, covered, ryding on

the horss that drawes the carte (the prissoner to be bound to the carte with a rope), to the tolbuith of Edinbrughe, and from thence to be brought to the parliament housse, and ther, in the place of delinquents, on his knees to receave his sentence, viz., to be hanged on a gibbet at the crosse of Edinbrughe, with his booke and declaratione tayed in a rope aboute his necke, and ther to hing for the space of 3 houres, untill he wer dead; and thereafter to be cutt doune by the hangman; his head, hands and leges to be cutt offe, and destribute as followes, viz., his head to be affixed on ane iron pine, and set on the pinnackell on the west gavell of the new prissone of Edinbrughe; one hand to be sett on the porte of Perth; the other on the porte of Stirling; one lyge and foote on the porte of Aberdeine, the other on the porte of Glasgow. If he was at his deathe penitent, and relaxit from excommunication, then the truncke of his bodey to be interrird by pioners in the Gray Friars, urtherwayes to be interrird in the Borrowmure, by the hangmans men under the gallowes.¹

In accordance with their instructions the Magistrates, accompanied by the Town Guard and common hangman, proceeded, the following afternoon, to carry out the first part of their ghastly task. Montrose, wounded and weary after his terrible fortnight's journey from Ross-shire, was brought into the City by the Water-gate, which formed the junction of the road from Leith with the Canongate, where the Magistrates made him aware of the sentence, so hastily, and without trial, passed upon him the previous day. Three days later, 21st May, 1650, Montrose, then but thirty-eight years of age, was hanged on a gibbet thirty feet high at the Cross of Edinburgh which at that time stood a few feet north-east of the site of the present cross, on the south side of the High Street. The spot is still marked by an octagonal arrangement of the causeway stones, immediately opposite the High Street entrance to the present Central Police Office. While incarcerated in the Tolbooth, and with the awful words of doom still ringing in his ears, Montrose wrote with a diamond point on the window of his prison chamber what may be termed his dying prayer:—

¹ Balfour's *Annals*, vol. iv. p. 12.

Let them bestow on every airt a limb,
 Then open all my veins, that I may swim
 To Thee, my Maker, in that crimson lake,
 Then place my parboiled head upon a stake;
 Scatter my ashes, strow them in the air.
 Lord, since Thou knowest where all these atoms are,
 I'm hopeful thou 'lt recover once my dust,
 And confident thou 'lt raise me with the just.

The sentence was carried out in all its gruesome details. His body, after dismemberment, was 'cassen in to ane lytill schoirt kist,' thereafter conveyed by six workmen to the Easter Common Muir of the city, and hastily buried beneath the public gibbet, situated at the south eastern extremity of the Burghmuir loch. That spacious adjunct of the city of our day—at one time called Hope's Park, but now known as 'The Meadows'—in 1650 formed the bed of the Burghmuir loch, afterwards drained by Hope of Rankeillor. The exact spot where the gibbet under which Montrose's body lay during the period of the Commonwealth, is now covered by St. Leonard's School and grounds which occupy a considerable space at the junction of St. Leonard's Street with East Preston Street. An earlier gibbet is referred to in the Town Council records under date 9th October, 1566, when 'ye provest, baillies and counsell ordained Jhone Westoun Thesaurer to caus mak ane dure to ye galloss of ye burrow mure and to cause mend and heicht ye dykis yrof sua yt doggis sall not be abill to cary ye cariounis furth of ye samyn as thai had done in tymes past.' In 1586 the Council decided upon feuing certain portions of the Easter Muir, including the site of the old gallows, and at that time, as evidenced by the following entry, ordered the erection of the gibbet under which Montrose's body was afterwards buried:—

24 August, 1586.—In respect yat the auld gallowis in ye burrow mure is foulet and decayand bayt in the tymmer wark and ye wallis and yat ye samyn stands upoun the grund qlk is now sett in few thairfore ordanis the same to be removet and tayne doune and ane new

gallowis of pillers of stayne w^t wallis to be biggit and raysit narrer ye toun in ye place devyset therefor.

On 5th June, 1668, the Council agreed to set in Tack to Thomas Sandilands, wright, Burgess of Edinburgh, the ground at the corner of the Dalkeith Road and Mounthooly Loan (now East Preston Street), called the Gallows Green, but reserved 'the loanings upon the east and south and the bounds of the gallows encompassed with the stane dykes for the touns use and their service as formerly.' The whole of the Gallows Green was feued by the Magistrates to John Davie, Brewer in the Pleasants, on 23rd June, 1699, and subsequently re-named Spittalfield, on which East Preston Street, and a considerable number of streets to the north thereof have since been erected.¹

The head of the Marquis was affixed to an iron spike, and set upon a pinnacle over the ornamental north gable of the western portion of the city prison known as the Tolbooth, which stood in the middle of the High Street, immediately to the north-west of St. Giles' Church. The exact location is now indicated by a heart-shaped design in the causeway known as the 'Heart of Midlothian.' The limbs were placed in four boxes and despatched to the respective towns appointed by Parliament.²

The mutilated body of the Marquis was not destined to rest long undisturbed in its unhallowed grave. At the instigation of his devoted niece, Lady Napier, then living in the Castle of Merchiston, his heart was surreptitiously abstracted from the rude coffin two days after burial, 'embalmed in the most costly manner by that skilful chirurgion and apothecary Mr. James Callendar, then put in a rich box of gold, and sent by the same noble lady to the now Lord Marquis who was then in Flanders.'³

The history of the heart of Montrose, as previously accepted,

¹ Town Council Records ; Register of Sasines.

² City Treasurer's Accounts ; *Montrose Redivivus*, p. 186.

³ True Funerals of Montrose. *Harleian MSS.*, vol. vii. p. 283.

is a most romantic one, unequalled for interest, as Napier says, even by that of the royal Bruce. Though much that has been written concerning it is merely conjectural, there is no doubt the heart was abstracted, embalmed, and given into possession of the young Marquis while exiled in Flanders. Napier, who investigated the matter most minutely, states that the gold box with its precious contents, had been traced with absolute certainty from Lady Napier to Montrose's son, but expresses regret that Sydserv gives no hint in his relation of the 'True Funerals of Montrose,' published early in 1661, as to whether the second Marquis then actually had the heart in his possession in Scotland, or had left it behind in Flanders, or lost it while in exile. 'It is not so easy, however,' Napier proceeds, 'to determine when or how such a relique came to be lost to the family who undoubtedly do not possess it now. Here its history becomes obscured.'¹

The question of actual possession of the heart in 1661 is now placed beyond doubt by an entry in the Chirurgeon's account, now first printed, which states that on 11th May, 1661, 'his Lordship's heart was sent to us by his honourable son and embalmed with oderiferous powders and oils.' This clearly proves that the heart of his father was in possession of the young Marquis until the preparations for the state funeral were nearing completion. Almost at the last moment he sent it to be re-embalmed by the Chirurgeons who had just completed that same office upon the other collected remains. What more natural than that the freshly embalmed heart, instead of finding a resting-place in box of gold or silver urn, should be restored to the body, and along with it receive a sepulture befitting the mortal ashes of the Napoleon of Scotland? The casket which had contained the precious relic no doubt became a family heirloom, around which may have been woven the many accepted romances regarding the heart of Montrose.

A decade of relentless religious persecution and political

¹ *Memoirs of Montrose*, Napier, 1856, vol. ii. p. 815.

unrest, following upon the execution of Montrose, brings us to the dawn of the Restoration. Charles II., now received by the populace of the capital with acclamation, hastened to make what honourable reparation he could to the memory of the martyred royalist. Accordingly on 4th January, 1661:—

The Kings Majesties Commissioner represented unto the Parliament that it was his Majesties express pleasure that the bodies, bones and head of the late Marques of Montrose, and Sir William Hay of Delgetie should be gathered and honorablie buried at his Majesties expence. Whairwith the Estates of Parliament being well satisfied did by ane unanimous vote appoint the Magistrates of Edinburgh to sie his Majesties will and pleasure herein punctuallie observed, and that they take the advice of the present Marques of Montrose as to the manner of it.¹

Next day (Saturday) the Magistrates instructed the erection of a scaffold on the top of the Tolbooth for the downtaking of the head, and appointed the following Monday as the date on which the body was to be brought from the Burgh Muir. John Scott, merchant, had meanwhile been busy furnishing 'the first day's peall which was in great haiste.' Nicoll in his Diary of the period graphically describes the obsequies attendant upon the bringing of the body from the Burgh Muir to the Abbey Church of Holyrood, preparatory to the more ceremonious burial in St. Giles' four months later.

Upone Monday the sevint of January 1661 (Nicol tells us), the Magistrates and Counsell of Edinburgh causit the timber and sklaites nerrest to that pairt of the Tolbuith quhair the Erles heid was pricked and fixt to be takin down, and maid a lairge scaffold thairon, quhair sindry pepill and trumpettoris sounding wer placed wayting thair discoverit till his corps wer raisit and brocht in from the Burrow mure. In the meintyme the Toun of Edinburgh airlie, about nyne in the klok, set out four of thair captanes with thair companyes, all of thaim in thair airmes and displayit cullouris; quha eftir a lang space marching

¹ Acts of Parliament.

up and doun the streitis, went out thairefter to the Burrow mure quhair his corps wer bureyit, and quhair sindry nobles and gentrie his freindis and favorites, both hors and fute, wer thair attending; and thair, in presence of sindry nobles, erles, lordis, barones, and utheris convenit for the tyme, his graif wes raisit, his body and bones taken out, and wrappit up in curious clothes, and put in a coffin, quhilk, under a canopy of riche velwet, wer careyit from the Burrow mure to the Toun of Edinburgh; the nobles, barones and gentrie on hors, the Toun of Edinburgh and many thowsandis besyde, convoyit these corporis all along, the cullouris fleying, drums towking, trumpettis sounding, musketis craking, and kannones from the Castell roring: all of thame walking on till thai come to the Tolbuith of Edinburgh, fra the quhilk his heid wes very honorablie and with all dew respectis takin doun and put within the coffin under the cannopie with great acclamation of joy: all this tyme the trumpettis, the drumes, kannounes, gunes, the displayit cullouris, geving honor to these deid corps. From thence all of thame, both hors and fute, convoyit these deid corps to the Abay Kirk of Halyrudhous quhair he is left inclosit in ane yll, till farder ordour be by his Majestie and Estaites of Parliament for the solempnitie of his buriall.¹

The following accounts, reference to which has already been made, were transferred along with a mass of miscellaneous documents from the office of His Majesty's Treasury and Exchequer in Parliament Square to the General Register House, about the beginning of last century. These miscellaneous papers were sometime ago arranged by Mr. Clark of H. M. Record Office, when many items of historical interest were brought to light. The accounts then discovered only represent £345 sterling out of a total sum of £802 sterling disbursed by the Lord Lyon for the funeral of Montrose. Curiously enough it is the accounts paid by Bailie Cheislie mentioned in the Lord Lyon's warrant of 16th August, 1662, which have come down to us.

The Warrant is in the following terms:—

Bailie Cheislie you shall pay to the sevⁿ persons for My Lord Montrose buriell according to My Lord Commissioners order eight hundreth and two pound sterg. of which S^r John Strachan hath gott in

¹ *Nicoll's Diary*. Bannatyne Club, p. 316.

all ther particular counts having ther receats this shall be yor warrand
Edin: the 16 of August 1662.

ALEX DURHAM *Lyon*.

I meane ye having the receates of such as ye have payed extending
to four thousand on hundreth threttie nyne pundis nyn shillings eight
pence I having receats for the rest my selfe which extends to 5485^l.
2^s. 4^d.

The receipts for the balance of £457, no doubt as interesting
as the others, were thus in the Lord Lyon's possession, but
these, if extant, have not yet been discovered. Prior to the
middle of the eighteenth century the Lord Lyon and his
Heralds had charge of all the State and other funerals of
note, and it was under the direction of Sir Alexander
Durham, appointed to that office on 28th August, 1660, that
the elaborate funeral ceremonies of Montrose were conducted.
The accounts are here given in the order appearing in the
manuscript.

MARQUIS OF MONTROSE'S FUNERAL ACCOUNTS, 1662

To be pay^d to the Session of the Abbay Kircke ther mortcloath
fyftin pound sterlling.

To be pay^d to the Beddells in the Abbay Kirck for ther pains the
tyme the corps stood in the church fourtie shilling sterg.

802^{lb} Stg to be placid doun debursed for my Lo/ Montrois Buriall.
Whereof my Lo/ Lyon hath delyvered in to S^r John Strachan alredie
the acom^t. The 3935. 09. 8 pay^d alredie out of the casch, the remaining
5689. 2. 4 is to be tacken out of the first moneys comes in of the Exys
and put in with my Lo/ Lyons cossa.

Accompt for ane Peall furnished by John Scott Mer^t for the use of my
Lord Marques of Montroes 5 Jany 1661.

	LB.	S.	D.
26 ell 3 qrs and half 3 per ell Rich Black velvet 22 ^{lb} ell	591	05	00
3 ell of Black busting at 18 ^s p. ell	02	14	00
24 ells of broad black french ribons at 9 ^s p. ell	10	16	00
2 unce 4 drop of black silk for showing at 24 ^s p. ell	02	14	00
6 ell ane qrter of black tafity at 5 ^{lb} 13 ^s 4 ^d p. ell	35	08	04
64 unce small black silk for ane fringe at 24 ^s p. unce	76	16	00

THE EMBALMING OF MONTROSE

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	LB.	S.	D.
Payed out for working at 4/ p. unce	12	16	00
1 ell of best black crepe	01	06	08
8 ell of black ribens for cufering the Cords at 6 ^s p. ell	02	08	00
14 ell of black paddoway serg for the dayll 48 ^s p. ell	33	12	00
1 peper of black prines	00	05	00
8 gilded crapes at 12 ^s p. pr	04	16	00
6 May			
16 ells and half of the forme black velvet for munting the Peall and two cushings for the Burriall at 22 ^{lb} p. ell	363	00	00
40 ell doubell black tafity ribens at 12 ^s p. ell	24	00	00
2 unce of Black silk for showing at 24 ^s p. unce	02	08	00
35 unce 10 drop of small silk for fringe, 24 ^s p. unce	42	15	00
For working the s ^d fringe 4 ^s p. unce	07	02	06
4 ell of fyne demytie for two cushings 18 ^s p. ell	08	12	00
18 pund of dounes for the cushings 9 ^{lb} p. stone	07	14	00
6 unce of black silk for 8 craps to the cushings at 24 ^s p. unce	07	04	00
Payed for working the s ^d craps and showing the cushings	03	00	00
16 ell of small ribens for the cordes at 6 ^s p. ell	04	16	00
Payed to William Paterson taylour for showing and munt- ting the first dayes peall which wes in great haist with boyes drink mony	12	00	00
Suma	1252	08	06

Stg. £104 7 4½

Acomp^t be my Lord Lyone for the funerall of the Marques of Montros
To William Mitchelson Mer^t In Edinburgh 22 Feby 1661.

	LB.	S.	D.
Imp ^s 1 ell of fyne trailzay bukrom at 3 ^{lb} 4 ^s p. ell	003	04	00
25 ells of trailzay bukrom courser at 36 ^s p. ell	045	00	00
3 ells & ane half of blak Inglis bukrom at 26/8 p. ell	004	13	04
11 ells of blak freiz to them at 30 ^s p. ell	016	10	00
13 ells 3 quarters of blak spanish tafity at 6 ^{lb} 16/ p. ell	093	10	00
10 ells & ane quarter of reid spains tafity at 9 ^{lb} 13 ^s 4 ^d p. ell	099	01	08
4 ells of blew tafity to it at 7 ^{lb} 4 ^s p. ell	028	16	00
6 ells and ane quarter of lemon collered tafity at 9 ^{lb} 10 ^{sh} p. ell	059	07	06
30 ells of lining cloath at 12 ^s p. ell	018	00	00

THE EMBALMING OF MONTROSE

	LB.	S.	D.
14 ells of creaping creap at 26/8 p. ell	018	13	04
5 ounce 1 drop of silk to shew the bainers at 30/ p. ounce	007	12	00
35 ells of 8 ^d blak ribbans to them at 8/ p. ell	014	00	00
2 ells and ane quarter of broad callico blew and yellow at 24/ ell	002	14	00
1 ell of broad red bukrom to the funerall at 24/ ell	001	04	00
2 ells of blak searg at 3 ^{lb} 4/ p. ell	006	08	00
13 ells and ane half of blak dewcap talfity to the trumpet banners at 8 ^{lb} p. ell	108	00	00
6 quarters of blak dutch searg at 3 ^{lb} 8/ p. ell	005	02	00
34 ells of blak baiz for sallies at 16/ ell	102	08	00
94 ells more to them at 16/ p. ell			
2 ells of crimson velvit at 24 ^{lb} ell	048	00	00
2 ells of blak pan velvit at 18 ^{lb} 6 ^s 8 ^d ell	026	13	04
1 ell of blak double spanish talfity to lyne it at 6 ^{lb} 16/ p. ell	006	16	00
3 ounce of blak silk at 30/ p. ounce	004	10	00
20 ells of blak 8 ^d ribbans to tye honors to the spear poynts at 8/ ell	008	00	00
25 ells of blak freiz delyvered to Childers & Cunningshame at 30/ ell	037	10	00
2 blak hats to the two sallies at 3 ^{lb} 6/8	006	13	04
Suma is	772	06	06
Your Lo/ is dew by accompt for the funerall of Hay of Dellgatey	160	02	08
Suma in all is	932	09	02

The Compte of the moneys debursit be Robert Rae att the raising of the Corpes of the Noble and potent Marques of Montrose, and Sir William Hay of Dalgetie be order of Sir Robert Murray Lord Provost of Edinburgh 7 Jany 1661.

	LB.	S.	D.
Item 8 ells of fyne small holland cloth for my Lord Marques att 7 ^{lb} 10 ^s ell	60	00	00
Item 8 ells of holland for Dalgetie 4 ^{lb} 10 ^s ell	36	00	00
Item 5 staine of tow flax to stop ye coffines att 4 ^{lb} ye staine	20	00	00
Item 2 dozoune of torches att 12 ^s peire	14	08	00
Item to the two workmen that caired outt the coffines and two pocks of tow and torches	02	08	00
Item 8 ells of hardine cloth to be two pocks to put ye tow and flax in 6 ^s 8 ^d ell	02	13	04

THE EMBALMING OF MONTROSE

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	LB.	S.	D.
Item to Robert Johnstoune who came outt and did shew ye place wher the corpes lay and held bowetts .	03	00	00
Item to ye Tounes servant Jon	03	00	00
Item to the men that brought in clein watter to ye Chirur- gines to wash ye bonnes	01	16	00
Item to Johne Kniblo for the two best velvit mort clothes and his drink money	24	00	00
Item to the 3 wreights that came outt and attenditt the fixe- ing of the coffines	04	10	00
Item to ye 6 graive makers for raiseing of the corpes .	18	00	00
Item for ane hundreth dails to be skaffolds pletts and ane staige to ye Trumpiters for the doune taking of My Lord Marquess head	48	00	00
Item 10 double and 10 single Tries tharto	18	00	00
Item 100 garrone nail 3 ^{lb} and 200 double stonremy 3 ^{lb} 4 ^s and 400 singell to ye work	09	08	00
Item 30 faldome of greatt tackell towes weying 3 staine at 8 mks ye stone to fix ye stair and plett	16	00	00
Item to the workmen that caired ye dails Tries and punt- chines and served ye wreights	02	18	00
Item for 4 puntchines to ye Trumpetts staig	07	04	00
Item to ye 8 wreights for ther drink money y ^{tt} maid ye skaffold plett and staiges	12	00	00
Item to the Smith that did sheir of ye Cross Irone, and taking outt ye prick whereon my Lord's head was	03	00	00
Item to Andrew Cassie Sklaiter to mak new 12 greatt holls and ane Turnepyck head in ye Rouffe of ye Tolbouth conforme to aggrement	40	00	00
Item to the servants in Tollbouth ther drink money	13	06	08
Item for my awine attendance both night and day to see the haille bussines provyditt	40	00	00
Souma is	398	12	00

This is my treu accompte

(Signed)

ROBERT RAE.

Robert Rae's account is endorsed on the back as follows:—

We undersubscryued being witnesses to the deburseing of this Compte on the other syde extending to thrie hundreth fourscoire aughtein pounds twelf shillings scots money we humblie desyre conforme to the Act of Parliament thatt all that have intrest may be

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satisfied. Conforme att Cannogeatte the 5th of February Jaj v^rc and
sixtie one years.

For the Reight honorable
Sir Robert Murray
Lord Provost of Ed^r

J. GRAHAME.
GEORGE HAY.

The Right Hone^{bl} the Lord Marquess of Montrose His Lo/
Inbalmeing the 7th January 1661.

With the Corpes of Sir William Hay of Dalgety done in
the like manner, viz.

After ane exact search of his Lo/ bones from amongst the corrupt
matter contained in the coffine they weir washt in aqua vitæ after-
wards being scraped and made cleane they wer a second tyme
washt in spirit of wyne and then being dryed bone by bone they
weir anoynted with oderiferous oylls and Balsoms and then be
pouthered and the coffine filled with the aromatick

	L ^b .	S.	D.
and specifick pouders viz heire following	021	00	00
Imprimis. 12 ^{lb} of Aromatick and specifick spyces at 6 ^{lb} p. lb.	072	00	00
Item 1 ^{lb} of oderiferous oyls at 5 ^{lb} pr once	080	00	00

Febry 4. Then there was a second tyme that my Lord
Madderdy had cawsed bring some of his Lo/ bones
which was soe done with as the others above
mentioned.

Item 20 ^{lb} of the pouthers for this effect with 4 once of the oyls	032	00	00
--	-----	----	----

Item ½ lb of the Spirit of salt for the anoynting of his Lo/ bones which had become [decomposed ?] by reason of the lyeing amongst the water that was contained in the coffine	012	00	00
---	-----	----	----

May 10. Then there was a full dressing *de novo* of his Lo/
bones with pouders and oyls viz.

Item 4 ^{lb} of the powthers with ½ lb of the oyls	064	00	00
--	-----	----	----

Item ½ ^{lb} of the Balsome for anoynting the Coffines	010	00	00
--	-----	----	----

May 11. Lastly his Lo/ hearte was sent to us by his Honb^{tl}
soun and Inbalmed with oderiferous pouders and oylls

Referres the paines and travell taken upon the Honb ^{tl} corpes to yer Lo/ discretion [7 th Stg.]	84	00	00
--	----	----	----

400	00	00
-----	----	----

400^{lb} scots.

DAVID PRINGIL, *Chirurgien*.

I James Patersone, Kirk thesaurer of the Sessioun of Halyroodhous Grants me to have received from Walter Cheislie Merchant burges of Edinburgh the soume of ane hundreth four score pundis scots money at directioun of S^r Alexr Durham Lo/ [Lyon And that for the Corpse of the Right Honorable James Marques of Montrose standing in the Kirk with the velvet morteloath lying thereon the space of eight weeks or thereby. Which soume foirsaid I grant the recait and discharges the said Walter thereof in name of the said Sessioun of Halyroodhous for ever Be this my Discharge Sub^t Wit. my hand at Edinburgh the second of Septem^r 1662 years Befor thir Wittnesses William Gray serviter to George Imrie, Balife and William Davidson, Tayler in the Canongat.

Bailie Walter Chiesley, who rendered these accounts to the Lord Lyon, was father of that John Chiesley of Dalry who shot Lord President Lockhart dead in the Old Bank Close on Easter Sunday, 1689, and grandfather of Rachel Chiesley, Lady Grange, who was kidnapped by the Frasers from her house in the lower High Street, and carried to the Hebrides. The Chiesley family monument is in Greyfriars Churchyard. The arms of Chiesley of Dalry (three roses, slipped, gules) registered 1678-9, are almost identical with those of the second Marquis of Montrose registered a year or two before, which immediately follow those of Chiesley in the present Lord Lyon's *Ordinary of Scottish Arms*. Sir William Hay of Dalgetty, whose name occurs in the accounts, was a son of Sir Alexander Hay of Dalgetty in Aberdeenshire, a cadet of the family of Errol. He was born in 1613, and served heir to his father in the Dalgetty lands on 17th April, 1638. For his adhesion to Montrose he was beheaded by the 'Maiden' at the Cross of Edinburgh on 7th June, 1650. His body received ignominious burial beneath the common gibbet, but was raised along with, and deposited by the side of, that of Montrose in 1661.

While proving the existence of Montrose's heart in 1661 there are several items in these accounts which help to confirm and amplify previous narratives on this subject. The name of Robert Johnstoune, who pointed out the spot where

the body of the Marquis lay, and held 'bowetts' (hand-lanterns) during the exhumation, has not previously been mentioned. Probably he was one of the six workmen who aided at the interment immediately after the execution. The 'cross irone' referred to, which transfixed the head to the original spike is spoken of by Nicoll, who states that it was inserted within six days of the execution, because of a rumour that the friends of Montrose intended to remove the head secretly. The fact of the heart having been stolen from the body two days after interment had, doubtless, stirred the minds of the Covenanting government to provide against the possibility of a further encroachment on their ghastly preserves by the adherents of Montrose. The story in Binning's *Light to the Art of Gunnery*, printed in 1676, has elicited no verification, but is, on account of its age, if nothing else, worthy of reproduction :—

In the year 1650 I was in the Castle of Edinburgh. One remarkable instance I had in shooting at that mirror of his time for loyalty and gallantry, James, Marquis of Montrose's head, standing on the pinnacle of the tolbooth of Edinburgh,—but that Providence had ordered that head to be taken down with more honour. I admired of its abiding, for the ball took the stone joining to the stone whereon it stood, which stone fell down and killed a drummer and a soldier or two on their march between the Luckenbooths and the church, and the head remained till by his Majesty it was ordered to be taken down and buried with such honour as was due to it.

It is worthy of note that on 4th February, 1661, a month after the trunk and head had been deposited in the Abbey Kirk, a further portion of his Lordship's bones was brought to the surgeons by Lord Madderty, who married Montrose's youngest sister Beatrix. These undoubtedly were some of the mangled limbs dispersed, in terms of the sentence, eleven years before. From original letters preserved in the Aberdeen City Archives, it is known that the young Marquis wrote to the magistrates of that town on 30th March, 1661, desiring them

to deliver 'the member of my fathers' to Sir Robert Graham of Morphie, which was done on April 9th. It would reach the chirurgeons in time for the 'full dressing' mentioned as having taken place on the 10th of May. No authentic information has been produced as to the fate of the limbs consigned to the other three towns, but there is no reason to doubt that they were duly forwarded to Edinburgh on the King's commands being made known. A belief exists, however, that the right hand and forearm of the great Montrose were in the possession of a Yorkshire gentleman as lately as 1896. A drawing of this gruesome relic is given in Murdoch and Simpson's edition of Bishop Wishart's *Montrose*, but the story lacks confirmation.¹

The collected remains having lain in state in the Abbey Kirk 'the space of eight weeks or thereby,' as noted in the accounts, the honourable burial appointed by the King took place on 11th May, 1661, with a magnificence unsurpassed by the funeral obsequies of any monarch of our own times. 'On that day, with all possible solemnity and heraldic splendour,' writes Andrew Lang in his History, 'the remains of Montrose were carried to St. Giles' Church, where a stately and beautiful tomb adorned by escutcheons of his kin and his companions in arms now marks the most sacred spot in Scotland, the resting-place of the stainless Cavalier.'

The place of sepulchre was the old Chapel of St. John the Evangelist, erected in the south-east portion of the Church of St. Giles by Walter Chepman, the 'Scottish Caxton,' immediately prior to the battle of Flodden. Montrose's grandfather, John, the third Earl, who was Chancellor of Scotland from 1599 to 1604, was buried there. For some time it bore the name of the Chepman Aisle, but subsequently became more generally known as the Montrose Aisle. At the restoration of St. Giles' by Dr. William Chambers in 1879, search was made for the remains of Montrose, but no trace of them was found. This is not surprising when it is considered that during a previous

¹ See also *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 1896-7, p. 65.

'restoration' of St. Giles' at the expense of the Government in 1829, the aisle which formed the sacred tomb of Montrose was turned into a coal cellar.¹ For over two centuries no memorial marked the spot where the ashes of the great Montrose were laid. While viewing the Cathedral, during her visit to the Scottish capital in 1886, Queen Victoria expressed astonishment that the simple words 'Montrose 1661,' cut in the paving of the aisle at the restoration of the Cathedral in 1879, were the only visible sign of remembrance of the illustrious royalist. Stimulated by her remark, a movement already conceived by the clansmen of the Grahame culminated in the present monument, first viewed by the public on 2nd October, 1888. The following is a translation of the inscription on the tomb referred to:—'Within this Aisle the scattered remains of James Graham, Marquis of Montrose, collected by the reverent care of his relatives and friends, were deposited on the 11th day of May, 1661. By his descendants and kinsmen, by the bearers of his name, by the admirers of his lofty genius, this monument was erected to his memory in the year of our Lord 1888.'²

JOHN CAMERON ROBBIE.

¹ Cameron Lees' *St. Giles*, p. 262.

² 'Jacobi Graham, Marchionis de Montrose, dissipatas olim reliquias, pia suorum opera collectas, hæc porticus excepit, A. D. V. id Mai A. S. MDCLXI. cuius viri in memoriam, posteri cognati gentiles, cives ingenii tanti fautores, monumentum hoc ponendum curaverunt, A. S. MDCCCLXXXVIII.'

THE PANTHEON : AN OLD EDINBURGH DEBATING SOCIETY

IN the palmy days of the latter half of the eighteenth century, and during the first twenty years of the nineteenth, Edinburgh was celebrated for its social clubs and literary or debating societies. There were institutions existing for all classes, and it has been alleged that ladies even had meetings of their own. The excitement of debate was the passion of the hour, and while conviviality, as part of the serious business for which a social club had its being, was by no means neglected, the intellectual exercise of debate occupied the really prominent place in the programme of an evening's entertainment at most of the clubs. The nature of the subject selected for discussion varied with the club, and the propositions ranged from topics that were earnest and thoughtful to those that were intentionally characterised by the most absolute buffoonery. Readers of Sir Walter Scott will recall in this connection the well-remembered scene in *Guy Mannering*, where Colonel Mannering and Mr. Dinmont discovered Mr. Counsellor Pleydell in Clerihugh's,¹ the centre of a company engaged in a game of 'High Jinks,' described by Scott in the following words.

This game was played in several different ways. Most frequently the dice were thrown by the company, and those upon whom the lot fell were obliged to assume and maintain for a time, a certain fictitious character, or to repeat a certain number of fescennine verses in a particular order. If they departed from the characters assigned, or if their memory proved treacherous in the repetition, they incurred

¹ A celebrated tavern in Writers' Court.

forfeits, which were either compounded for by swallowing an additional bumper, or by paying a small sum towards the reckoning.

On the occasion referred to we are told that the Counsellor sat 'enthroned as a monarch, in an elbow chair placed on the dining-table, his scratch wig on one side, his head crowned with a bottle-slider, his eye leering with an expression betwixt fun and the effects of wine, while his court around him resounded with such crambo scraps of verse as these:—

Where is Gerunto now? and what's become of him?

Gerunto's drowned because he could not swim,' etc. etc.

The clubs were open to members only, and in some cases to their friends on special introduction. As a rule the place of meeting was in a room at some favourite tavern where the members usually dined or supped according to previous arrangement. At these symposiums might be found congregated all that was best and brightest in the social life of Edinburgh, clergyman and layman honouring the occasion and sharing, with equal enjoyment, the passing relaxation. It is generally asserted that the expenses incurred were moderate, and that, so far as the consumption of liquor was concerned, the members were in the main wisely temperate. Well, it may have been so.

The debating societies pure and simple were of a different order, although some of them also were styled clubs, and the members seem to have had convivial adjournments of their own. They were not exclusive. The actual membership was often very limited in number, but the outside public were admitted to the debates on payment of a small charge, and were invited to join in the controversies. The profits obtained were commonly supposed to be devoted to charities, but it is very doubtful if any charity benefited greatly by contributions received from this source.

Universal as these clubs and societies were, it is rather curious that the knowledge of them that has come down to the present generation should be so small in volume, and so scrappy in particulars. A manuscript 'Statement' in my possession

seems to me to supply much of the kind of information that has been hitherto so sadly lacking. This interesting document was written and attested in 1791 by the then treasurer of the Pantheon Society, one of the most famous of the early Edinburgh debating societies, and was prepared for the instruction of its members. The treasurer was obviously a loquacious and discursive gentleman, verbose withal and fond of vain repetitions, but literature to-day owes a great deal to the loquacity and discursiveness of the past, qualities or weaknesses to which is due the preservation of much that has come to be considered valuable as the time-distance has widened. The members of the Old Edinburgh Club may perhaps be persuaded to overlook the idiosyncrasies of the worthy treasurer for the sake of the information he gives, much of which, so far as I know, is not to be obtained anywhere else.

The Pantheon was established as a literary debating society in 1773 by the members of the Robinhood Society, which gave place to it. The Robinhood was a parliamentary debating club in Edinburgh which had enjoyed a considerable measure of popularity for some little time before it was transformed into the Pantheon. Its speakers assumed the rôle of some parliamentarian of the day, and the affairs of the nation were discussed with a dignity and seriousness that would have done credit to the assembly of which it professed in some degree to be a counterpart. Very full reports of the debates are to be found in the contemporary pages of the Ruddimans' *Weekly Magazine, or Edinburgh Amusement*.

Fergusson, the poet, has preserved the interesting fact that in its earliest days the Pantheon went under the name of the 'Robinhood.' In the *Mutual Complaint of Plainstones and Causey* he makes Causey say :—

But first, I think it will be good
To bring it to the *Robinhood*,
Where we shall hae the question stated,
And keen and crabbitly debated,

Whether the provest and the bailies,
For the town's gude whase daily toil is,
Shou'd listen to our joint petitions,
And see obtemper'd the conditions.' ¹

An editorial footnote records that the Robinhood was, 'A new instituted society, then (in 1773, when *Plainstones and Causey* was written) held weekly in the Thistle Lodge, but which now goes under the name of the Pantheon, and meets occasionally in Mary's Chapel, where the grand concerns of the nation are debated by a set of juvenile Ciceros.' ²

It is curious to note that in *Leith Races*, verse xix., Fergusson refers again to the Robinhood debates, and that in the *second*³ third edition of the poet's works 'Printed by T. Ruddiman and Co. For J. Simpson at the Cross. M,DCC,LXXXV,' the name Pantheon is substituted for Robinhood.

As has been said, the Pantheon was established in 1773, and it seems to have continued till about 1800, but I have not been able to ascertain the precise date. It held its meetings latterly in Saint Andrew's Chapel in Carrubber's Close,⁴ a building regarding which Sir Daniel Wilson gives the following account in his *Memorials of Edinburgh*:⁵

Allan Ramsay was strongly attached to the drama, and in his desire for its encouragement he built a play-house at the foot of Carrubber's Close, about the year 1736, which involved him in very considerable expense. It was closed immediately after by the act for licensing the stage, which was passed in the following year, and the poet's sole resource was in writing a rhyming complaint to the Court of Session, which appeared soon after in the *Gentleman's Magazine*. The abortive play-house has since served many singular and diverse purposes. It is the same building, we believe, which now bears the name of St. Andrew's chapel, bestowed on it soon after the failure of the poet's

¹ *Poems on Various Subjects*, by Robert Fergusson. Part II., Edinr. 1779, p. 43.

² *Ibid.*

³ There were actually two distinct 'third' editions issued in 1785 by the Ruddimans. This one I believe to have appeared later than the other.

⁴ Formerly in the High Street near John Knox's House. Carrubber's Close Mission Buildings now occupy its site.

⁵ 1848 edition, vol. ii. p. 32.

dramatic speculation. In 1773 it formed the arena for the debates of the Pantheon, a famous speculative club. In 1788, Dr. Moyes, the ingenious lecturer on natural philosophy, discoursed there to select and fashionable audiences on optics, the property of light, and other branches of science, in regard to which his most popular qualification was, that he had been blind almost from his birth. Since then the pulpit of St. Andrew's chapel has been filled by Mr. John Barclay, the founder of the sect of modern Bereans; by the Reverend Mr. Tait, and other founders of the Rowites, during whose occupancy the celebrated Edward Irvine frequently officiated. The chapel has also been engaged by Relief and Secession congregations, by the Roman Catholics, as a preaching station and schoolroom, and more recently as a hall for lectures and debates of all kinds;—as strange and varied a medley of actors as even the fertile fancy of the poet could have foreshadowed for his projected play-house.

Wilson might have added that in St. Andrew's Chapel too were held the meetings of the Forum, a society constituted on similar lines to the Pantheon, and of which James Hogg, the Ettrick Shepherd, was a leading member.

A common experience with most of the clubs and societies was that the members occasionally had serious disagreements on questions affecting their own domestic policy, and this not infrequently led to a process of hiving off, with the inevitable consequence that the parent institution was more or less crippled for the time. The Pantheon was no exception to the general rule in this respect. In 1783 its members had one of these family squabbles and there was the usual exodus. The minority founded a rival society which they designated the Lycæum, whereupon the Pantheonites inserted the following notice, or advertisement as it was called, in the *Edinburgh Advertiser* of Friday, March 7 :

TO THE NON-RESIDENT MEMBERS, VISITORS, AND WELL-WISHERS
OF THE PANTHEON SOCIETY

Improvement in public speaking, and relief to merit in distress, are the leading features of this institution. Of its utility, as to the former, the members have had nearly ten years' experience—the poor

of every denomination in this city are in possession of the latter.—Its success, as to both of these, has been greatly aided by the public countenance and attention.—Its want of it has chiefly arisen from the partial and interested motives of a few of its members.

Some weeks ago, the Members were given to understand, that unless they would agree to divide the profits of every debate among the speaking members, equally for the time, three of the Society's chief supporters would instantly withdraw their aid. This proposal the members unanimously rejected as selfish, inhumane, uncharitable, and, in every point of view, subversive of the real interests of an institution, whose leading principle was relief to distress.¹—It was retorted by one of the three, that Charity ought to begin at home, and that unless the profits of the Society became in future the 'Commonwealth of its speaking members,' another Society would be instituted on that very principle which the members of the Pantheon foolishly termed selfish, inhumane, uncharitable.

Let the public mark this consequence, that, in order to preserve a mite to the poor widow—a feeble stay to the defenceless orphan, and a temporary support to indigent infirm old age, the Members of the Pantheon have at once sacrificed the eloquence of the Chairman of the Lycæum, and the services of their late Ticket Issuer, as well as freed themselves from the constant importunities of a lazy and burdensome pensioner on their funds.²

This of course could not be allowed to pass unnoticed, and it was immediately answered in a pamphlet of twenty pages entitled, The | Pnatheon³ Unmasked. | Being A Full | Answer | To The Late | Advertisement | Of The | Pantheonites. | By the Members of the Lycæum. | | Printed in the Year 1783. |

Section III. of this document consists mainly of a series of forty-three questions addressed to the unhappy members of the Pantheon, who, among other delinquencies, are openly accused of spending in taverns and oyster cellars the money collected, instead of devoting it to charitable purposes. Specific occasions

¹ It will be observed later that the treasurer of the Pantheon in his *Statement* urges the adoption of the very views here denounced as 'selfish, inhumane,' etc.

² *The Pnatheon Unmasked*, p. 5.

³ A printer's error, corrected on p. 20 of the pamphlet—should be Pantheon.

are referred to when it is alleged as much as eight pounds was spent for a single dinner at Newhaven; four pounds three shillings at one sitting at Munro's tavern, and later thirty shillings more 'when they went to settle the former bill,' etc. etc.

Notwithstanding the corrupt nature of the management so plainly indicated by the pamphleteers, and fully confirmed by the treasurers' Statement, there is no gainsaying the fact that the Pantheon was a society of great repute, and that it had a considerable vogue. Many of the speeches delivered were in verse, and a number of these appeared afterwards in contemporary publications. The well-known piece *Rab and Ringan* was apparently originally written specially for the Pantheon by the author of *Watty and Meg*, Alexander Wilson, who recited it in a debate on the question, 'Whether is Diffidence, or the Allurements of Pleasure, the greatest bar to Progress in Knowledge?'¹ *The Loss o' the Pack*, by the same writer, was delivered by him in a debate on the question 'Whether is Disappointment in Love, or the Loss of Fortune, hardest to bear?'² This piece subsequently became immensely popular when published in chap-book form, and thousands of copies of it must have been sold.

On 14th April, 1791, a debate took place on the question 'Whether have the Exertions of Allan Ramsay or Robert Ferguson done more Honour to Scotch Poetry?' Wilson took part in this debate, as also did Ebenezer Picken, teacher of languages in Edinburgh and minor poet;³ and these two published their contributions (in verse) in a pamphlet bearing the following title:—The | Laurel Disputed; | Or, The | Merits Of Allan Ramsay | And | Robert Ferguson Contrasted; | In Two Poetical Essays, | Delivered in the Pantheon at Edinburgh, on Thursday April 14th 1791, | On the Question, | 'Whether have

¹ Brash and Reid's *Poetry; Original and Selected*, vol. i. part 6. ² *Ibid.*, part 7.

³ In 1813 Picken published a collection of miscellaneous poems, songs, etc., in 2 vols. 12mo, and announced his intention to issue shortly thereafter a 'Pocket Dictionary of the Scottish Dialect.'

the Exertions of Allan Ramsay or Robert | 'Ferguson done more Honour to Scotch Poetry?' | By E. Picken, And A. Wilson. | four lines of verse | Edinburgh: | Printed for A. Guthrie, No. 25. South Bridge-Street. | 1791. | 39 pp.

In Ford's edition of Fergusson's *Works*, p. 116, is given the following account of this great debate :

Seven speakers, it appears, took part. . . . All took the side of Ramsay but Wilson, who, although his poem received the approbation of the audience, and by those best able to judge was esteemed the highest in literary quality of all the seven delivered, had yet to yield the prize, by seventeen votes of the meeting, to a Mr. Cumming, who was accused of gaining a majority by bribery. Tickets of admission, which cost sixpence each, were bought and distributed in abundance. The award was to be made by a vote of the audience; and to secure the majority which he actually attained, Cumming, it was said, purchased alone forty tickets, which he presented to ladies of his acquaintance, merely that they might attend and vote for him.'

No. IV. of the *Paisley Repository* contains a speech in verse delivered in the Pantheon on the question, 'Whether are Mankind more indebted to Education, Genius, or Perseverance for their Success in Life?' According to a MS. note by the late James Dobie, F.S.A., Beith, in my copy of the *Paisley Repository* this speech was 'by Mr. James Kennedy.'

These examples will serve to show the class of entertainment provided at the meetings of the Pantheon, and, in the case of the Ramsay *versus* Fergusson debate, how one of the immediate objects aimed at could be defeated by means of perversion.

Dr. Grosart in his edition of the poet Fergusson's *Works* remarks that Claudero was wont to figure at the Pantheon.

The *Edinburgh Advertiser* contains many Pantheon advertisements, also brief reports of the result of the debates with comments on the attendance, which varied from one hundred to about three hundred persons.

The foregoing particulars contain all the information I have

been able to glean regarding the Pantheon Society apart from the treasurer's MS. Statement, here printed in full, which tells of the Society's struggles and aspirations ; its failures and successes.

IMPROVEMENTS ON THE INSTITUTION OF THE PANTHEON

EDINR. 1st Septemr, 1791.

Ever since the year 1773, when the Society assumed its present form, It has been in debt—The Receipts never answered the Expenditure ; that is, whatever the Receipts were, the Expenditure exceeded them—The nature of the Institution led to this. The members could reap no pecuniary benefit, therefore they were lavish of the fund ; Gave it away in charity to others, or consumed it in entertainments to themselves and the speakers for the time.

For some years previous to Novemr 1788, it had gradually fallen into decay and disrepute, and, at that period, had come to a very low ebb, by speculation and embezzlement of the fund—It lost the confidence of the public, of course, its wonted credit, its usual speakers—Its funds, the exclusive property of no individual, were cared for by no one—They were appropriated by the Treasurer to his own purposes, and he refused to Account.

In these circumstances, the propriety of opening it was doubted. The attending members were few, and all, but one, recently admitted. The extent of the debts was unknown Inspection of the Vouchers was denied. An Arrear of Rent was due, and further possession refused, unless it was paid, or secured.

The oldest attending Member, however, was then of opinion, that the Institution was a good one, but had been abused. That of itself, it merited patronage, but had forfeited it by misapplication of its fund—That its principle was patriotic, but had been departed from and that by correcting its abuses, the public countenance would return—He offered security for the rent due, which was accepted—He undertook to pacify all its creditors,—to manage its future funds, and with the concurring Exertions of the members, to prevent its being finally shut—perhaps to restore it—His Offers were Accepted—He was Elected Treasurer. It was determined to continue the debates.

Saint Andrew's Chapel was built, and originally intended for a place of Worship.—Hitherto it had been used as such, and was then

under Lease to the present Tenant, Mr. John Barclay.—It was ill suited to the Pantheon—It was Seated throughout equally in height—the lofts were too low, and approached too near to each other—The Entry was from a Turnpike, very incommodious—The pulpit &^{ca} were an incumbrance, and there was no fireplace—These disadvantages had contributed somewhat to the Societys decay.

In Summer 1788, the present Treasurer applied to and had frequent meetings with the proprietor of the Chapel, In order to have it altered to its present form—But he refused, on Two grounds—1^{mo}. The tenant would not allow it—2^{do}. He saw no means of recompence for outlay of money.

By frequent Meetings with the Tenant, The Treasurer, at last, obtained his Consent to the Alterations proposed—informed the proprietor thereof, who still refused, unless he saw views of being Indemnified.

The Treasurer applied to every person with whom he knew the proprietor was acquainted or had any influence with him, in order to get the alterations and expences thereof estimated and ascertained.—He even offered him In name of the Society (tho' without their knowledge) £10 Sterling, yearly, if he would alter the Chapel, and that for 7 years certain, after the alterations were made—this he refused—But being Solicited by the Treasurer, the Tenant, and several others, he consented that Estimates should be made out, of the necessary Expence of Altering.

Three different Estimates were accordingly made out, one of which is in the Treasurers possession, the Lowest of which amounted to the sum of £280 sterling.

After sundry meetings with the proprietor respecting the advantages of the alterations, the expence of them, and probable benefit resulting from them, He offered to the Treasurer to make the alterations, provided he could find Security for being Indemnified of the one half thereof viz £140 sterling within 7 years after they were made—and that, over and above the rents payable when the repairs were begun—and allowed one month for considering it.

After repeated Trials and Enquiries, the Treasurer, at last, by the aid of a Gentleman friendly to the Pantheon, found out a person willing to Take the Chapel for 7 years, after the repairs were finished, at £20 Sterling, of yearly rent,—Informed the proprietor who agreed—Writings to this purpose being exchanged, the repairs were begun carried on during Autumn 1788, and by November that year were in such forwardness as to allow of the Society being opened; which was

done by the Treasurer, after Advertisements and bills specifying the Repairs & Alterations, to a very Crowded Audience.

During January 1789, the alterations were finished—The Tack to the Tenant for 7 years at £20 yearly was made out and Executed, and wherein the Treasurer was Employed as the man of business for both partys, and is a Cautioner for payment of their Rent, being, in 7 years, £140 sterling, the half of the Repairs—also Cautioner for the Societys Rent of £5 sterling yearly, which, at Signing that Tack, the proprietor promised not to raise during the Tack, providing Ruffing with Sticks was abolished, and that, before Two Gentlemen still living and residing in Edinburgh.

In Stating the rise, progress, and Conclusion of the above Transaction, the Treasurer has been more minute, than perhaps was necessary, But he hopes the members will pardon him for it, Especially, as his private opinion had long been, that the room was ill suited to the Society, which having fallen into disrepute, required some novelty to recall the attention of the public, and that these alterations would contribute much to that purpose—Besides, as He was now appointed Treasurer without one fraction of funds and under the Load of £50 Sterling of resting debts, for which the Creditors were become clamorous and uneasy, He, naturally vain, Imagined, That to restore the Society under these disadvantages, would be a Laudable Action, and memorable in the records of the Institution—and, as, at that time no other Room equally central and suitable, could be had, at any rate, he does not think, but that from his vanity and zeal at the time, he would have become bound, personally, for the half of the repairs, if all other means had failed—But it happened more luckily—Because these repairs were, not only, Suggested by, and made, Solely, for behoof of the Pantheon, but one half of the Expence has, by its means, been Secured to the proprietor, without raising the Societys former rent, and that, at a time when the Society thought of giving up altogether; with the burden of £50 of debt.—The chapel is now one of the most commodious and elegant places of meeting within North Britain.—The alterations have contributed not a little to restore the Society—To aid its revival and restoration, many Articles of Expence formerly unknown to the Institution were Incurred, and have not Since been relinquished, whereby the annual Expenditure, for the Three last years, has been nearly double that of any former period—

Candles, formerly of Tallow, were now used of *Wax*.

Soldiers, formerly seldom, now attended weekly, & in greater number.

Medals, formerly of Silver, were now of Gold—at 5 times the value.

Advertisements, formerly Seldom, were now weekly, in all the papers, by means of paragraphs, from which an Immunity of King's duty was obtained by the Clerks of Stamps, at the Special and Earnest request of the Treasurer—Actual Advertisements only being charged.

Anniversary Dinner, formerly by members only, was now attended by all the most zealous Friends of the Institution.

A Record, formerly unknown, was now set on foot for medal Speeches that the Society might leave authentic Evidences of its Existence and progress, to posterity.

Visitors, formerly under no restraint, or rule, as to their conduct, were now admitted under written laws both as to their Conduct and privileges.

The *Minutes of Debates*, formerly filled up at random, were now accurately attended to, Scrolled, extended, and reduced to a Historical System of the public Transactions of the Society.

The *Treasurers Accounts*, formerly neglected, Seldom examined, & never minutely, were now Ordained to be Inserted in the public records instead of a private Cash book usually kept by the Treasurer—and of which All inspection was denied by the late Treasurer and Access to the Vouchers refused.

The Chapel being repaired, The Society, as already mentioned, was opened, by the Treasurer, on Thursday, 13 November, 1788, to a Crowded Audience.

The great number present was chiefly owing to the Strenuous Exertions of the Members, to each of whom (tho' few in number,) *gratis Tickets* were Issued, for accommodating their friends and acquaintances—Notice was taken by the President in his Introduction of the past and present State of the Society—its late decay, and the various Improvements intended for its revival; the additional Expences incurred by these variations—Infine, promising to the public the Enjoyment of every Benefit and advantage, of which the nature of the Institution was susceptible, or could reasonably be expected from it.

The Exertions of the Members that Evening were so uncommonly Strenuous and Spirited, that the debate was necessarily adjourned, and was equally well supported on the subsequent Thursday—From which period, to this day, the Society has Continued its usual weekly meetings, and debates, with various Success—But it has attained one great object,—It has, by the united exertion of its members recalled the public Countenance, re-established its Credit, paid every debt

incurred since its revival, and even some of those contracted by the former Treasurer.—It has acquired new members, Speaking visitors, and friendly well-wishers—So that it is now in a Condition to go forward with Honour to itself, and great utility to the public.

The increase of the annual *Expenditure*, owing to the Improvements, and variations above-mentioned, has, since the revival, no doubt, been great—but it stands fully justified both by the Intention, and the Issue.

And The *Receipts* for these 3 years, when compared with those of the 3 years preceding the revival have risen in proportion to the Improvements, In fine they are not much below those of any 3 years since the Commencement of the Institution—But this will Appear from the following Statement—

STATE OF PANTHEON RECEIPTS FROM ITS INSTITUTION

TREASURERS		YEARS							
John Drysdale	.	1	From 23 December 1773 To						
			17 August 1774	.	£30	0	0		
"		2	From Novem. 1774 To						
			17 August 1775	.	30	0	0		
"		3	From Novem. 1775 To						
			15 August 1776	.	62	1	0	122	1 0
David Grant	.	4	From 14 Novem. 1776 To						
			29 May 1777	.	50	16	0		
"		5	From 13 Novem. 1777 To						
			30 July 1778	.	28	2	0		
Robert Anderson		6	From 12 Novem. 1778 To						
			28 October 1779	.	68	11	0	147	9 0
"		7	From 11 Novem. 1779 To						
			8 June 1780	.	47	11	0		
"		8	From 6 October 1780 To						
			7 June 1781	.	20	17	6		
Thos. Sommers ¹		9	From 22 Novem. 1781 To						
			31 October 1782	.	44	13	0	113	1 6
"		10	From 14 Novem. 1782 To						
			3 July 1783	.	50	16	0		
"		11	From 16 October 1783 To						
			27 May 1784	.	24	8	0		
"		12	From 14 October 1784 To						
			21 April 1785	.	30	0	0	105	4 0

¹ Was this treasurer—so severely censured by Penney—the biographer of Fergusson the poet?

THE PANTHEON

TREASURERS		YEARS					
Thos. Sommers	.	13	From 27 October 1785 To				
			11 May 1786	.	.	£14	2 0
"		14	From 21 Decemr. 1786 To				
			3 May 1787	.	.	21	3 0
"		15	From 22 Novem. 1787 To				
			19 June 1788	.	.	20	2 0
John Penney	.	16	From 13 Novem. 1788 To			£55	7 0
			30 April 1789	.	.	46	10 6
"		17	From 12 Novem. 1789 To				
			29 April 1790	.	.	48	1 6
"		18	From 11 Novem. 1790 To				
			12 May 1791	.	.	45	0 0
Total Receipts for 18 years						139	11 6 ¹
						£682	14 6

From the above Statement, it appears, that the Society from its commencement to the present day, a period of 18 years, has drawn the Sum of Six Hundred and Eighty-two Pounds fourteen Shillings and Sixpence Sterling, which on an average is about £37, 18 0 yearly.

It also clearly appears, that the Receipts for the 3 years Subsequent to the Revival, owing to the Improvements and united Exertions of the members, have greatly exceeded those of the 3 years preceding it. The one only amounting in whole, to the Sum of £55, 7 0 which at an average is £18, 9 0 yearly. The other is £139, 11 6 which at an average is £46, 16 0² yearly—or as follows:—

To Amount of Receipts for years 1789, 1790, & 1791	.	£139	11	6
To Ditto of Do. for years 1786, 1787, & 1788 deduced	.	55	7	0
Gained by Improvements &ca.	.	£84	4	6

In Short it appears, from the above Statement, that, (Excepting the second average, or years 1777, 1778 & 1779, during the last of which the Society incurred a load of debt by giving Punch to the visitors) the Receipts of the last 3 years, greatly Exceed those of any other 3 years, Since the Commencement of the Institution.

The great increase of annual Revenue for the last 3 years, owing to the Improvements, and spirited exertion of the Members, would seem to Suggest an Idea, that farther improvements might still increase the Receipts in a proportional degree—But as this matter shall be afterwards spoke to, as forming a separate and additional Statement; it were improper to discuss it here.

¹ £139, 11s. 6d. in the original, but should be £139, 12s. 0d.

² Should be £46, 10s. 6d.

The matters still remaining to be ascertained; agreeable to the Scope of the present Branch of this paper, are, as follows.

1. What was the necessary and unavoidable Expence of the Pantheon, yearly, previous to November 1788.

2. What such Expence has been, from that period to the End of last Session 12th May 1791.

3. The Receipts, as to both periods, appear from the foregoing Statement.

3. What such Expence will be, during the ensuing Session, Commencing 6th October 1791. Supposing, 30 Questions, and Debates, Ending 27 April 1792, and the Society to continue on its present Establishment, making rational allowances for everything.

4. What will be the probable amount of Receipts or proceeds of these 30 Questions.

For the Two first, 25 Questions shall be assumed as the Medium as they varied yearly.

For the Two last they are Held as fixed at 30 Questions.

ARTICLE 1.—STATE OF PANTHEON ANNUAL EXPENDITURE PREVIOUS TO NOVEMBER 1788

1. To paper & printing Bills for 25 Questions @ 2/6	£3	2	6
2. To Licence to put up same	0	1	0
3. To Putting up same on streets	1	5	0
4. To Door Keepers for ditto @ 2/6	3	2	6
5. To Soldiers 4 times, yearly, at 2 Each time @ 9d	0	6	0
6. To Tallow Candles for Ditto	2	2	6
7. To Coals, oil, &ca.	0	16	8
8. To Advertisements for Ditto	3	12	6
9. To A Silver medal, Engraving & Ribbon	0	10	6
10. To Rent yearly	5	0	2
11. To Anniversary Dinner	2	2	0
12. To 6 ¹ Committees @ 7/6 Each	3	7	6
13. To 4 Diplomas yearly	2	2	0
14. To Base money yearly	0	7	6
15. To Printing Tickets and Cards	0	12	6
16. To paper wax wafers Chairmen Cadies & other Small Expenditure	0	7	6
Total	£28	18	4

¹ The calculation is on the basis of 9.

The above is a higher Expenditure than was Incurred—the Bills were adopted only 18 months previous to Novr 1788—which was less by £24 8 6
 for all preceding years—for six years there were 110
 Diplomas, of course less by 13 15 0
 £38 3 6

But it appears from the General Statement of Receipts, That, Altho the yearly expenditure had been exactly as above, more money was drawn during the 7 years preceding the revival than would have paid the same namely—To receipts for 7 years—from Novemr 1781 to ditto 1788 £205 4 0
 To expenditure for these 7 years @ £28 18 4 annually 202 8 4
 Balance £2 15 8

But even Confining the above expenditure to the last 7 years, previous to the revival, (during which the former Treasurer Acted) calculation is needless, because tho' the Receipts could have answered that expenditure, and left a large Balance in his hands, we find him owing debts to the amount of above £50 Sterling to the public, Besides that Balance to the Society.

ARTICLE 2.—STATE OF PANTHEON ANNUAL EXPENDITURE
 SINCE NOVEMBER 1788

1. To Paper—and printing weekly Bills	£1 2 6
2. To Licence to put up same	0 1 0
3. To Putting up same on Streets and repetitions Coffee rooms Auctions	1 15 0
4. To filling up same—(average of 3 years)	0 6 0
5. To Doorkeepers—& Extra	3 10 6
6. Soldiers	2 2 0
7. Coals Oil Cotton Taper Small Candle &ca	1 1 0
8. Wax Candles	4 4 0
9. Advertisements	5 5 0
10. Gold medals, Engraving, Ribbons	7 7 0
11. Anniversary Dinner	3 3 0
12. Committees 6 ¹ —at 7/6 each	3 7 6
13. Chapel Rent	5 0 2
14. Diplomas 2	0 11 0
15. Commission Ticket office	0 5 6

¹ The calculation is on the basis of 9.

16. Printers for paragraphs	£1	1	0
17. Recording Medal Speeches	1	1	0
18. Base Money	0	3	6
19. Paper wax wafers porters Cadies & other small Expenditure	0	5	6
Total	£41	12	2

The above is the lowest Medium that can be Taken of the necessary Expenditure for the last 3 years—In advertisements Dinners Committees &ca a rational average is assumed, tho' greatly under the real expenditure—

By the late Improvements, a heavy additional Expenditure has been Incurred—But the increase of Revenue, and also of respectability, have fully Justified that Expenditure—and Shewn, that a liberal plan of Management is the only method of acquiring public countenance and support.

However great the Expenditure has been for the last 3 years, yet the Receipts and debursments of the Society were equal on 1 November last 1790. And Although there is a Balance now due to the Treasurer, yet the Society is not Indebted to the public; neither would they have been one farthing in the Treasurer's debt, provided they had not been obliged to pay 18 months Rent of the Chapel which was due by the former Treasurer in 1788

Also Dispensary Benefit owing by him	2	15	0
Also accounts due to Lizars & Messieurs Browns	1	3	0
Also printing of Honary Tickets and Cards	0	5	6
	£11	13	6

So that the Society would have owed no Balance to the Treasurer had not these stood in the way.

In Ascertaining the Expences of the Ensuing year, It is taken for granted that the drudgery and Trouble are either to fall on all the members equally, or, that the same is to be paid from the funds of the Society and as the latter will probably happen, it is here adopted.

ARTICLE 3.—STATE OF EXPENDITURE, FROM 6 OCTOBER 1791
TO 6 OCTOBER 1792

1. To Balance due to the Treasurer on 6 October	£10	0	0
2. To Paper—& printing weekly Bills	1	2	6
3. To Licence to put up same	0	1	0
4. To putting up same 30 Questions 30/ repetitions 6/ at Auctions 2/6 Coffee houses 3/6	2	2	0

5. To filling up same for 30 questions & repetitions .	£1 11 6
6. To Doorkeepers for ditto £3 15. Extra 5/ Committees 5/	4 5 0
7. To Soldiers for ditto £2 5 Medals &c. 9/	2 14 0
8. To Coals, oil, Cotton, Taper, S. Candle &ca	1 7 6
9. To Advertisements 3 papers	6 6 0
10. To 3 Gold medals, £6 6 Engraving 15/ Ribbons 2/ .	7 3 0
11. To Rent	5 0 2
12. To Anniversary Dinner	3 3 0
13. To Committees	3 3 0
14. To 4 Diplomas	1 2 0
15. To Commission to Ticket office	0 10 6
16. To Gratuity for paragraphs	1 1 0
17. To Base Coin	0 7 6
18. To a Secretary, for officiating as Clerk, Recording medal Speeches Scrolling & Extending Minutes, and paragraphs Advertisements Letters Cards and every other drudgery of the Society	5 5 0
19. To Paper wax wafers pens Ink, Chairmen Cadies porters, postages and other small Expenditure . .	0 10 6
20. To Tickets and Cards	0 10 6
Total	£57 5 8

Average—
£1 11 6½ each
Debate

It will readily be Observed, that the first Article of this Statement makes no part of the yearly Expenditure, Whereby the Sum Total will be only £47, 5 8. But as the first Article falls to be paid from the Receipts of this year, So it falls to be Stated as a Burden affecting the Drawings of the Institution.

If the Bills are wholly printed—They will cost more than is above stated by £1, 5.—Something may be Saved from the Dinner—and the whole Committees may be in the chapel which will be a further Saving.

Upon the whole, it is thought, that, as some Articles may Exceed the medium taken as above, and some few fall Short of it, the differences will nearly compensate each other and the expence be as Stated.

In speaking as to the probable amount of the Receipts, It is Taken for Granted, that as the Expenditure is high, great Exertion of the Members will be requisite,—Also that every thing regarding the office of President Clerk Ticket Receiver and Reporter of Votes will be placed on a more rational permanent and equal footing than has been done for some preceding years. Also, that a fixed number of members

will be Settled and appointed to Speak on each debate—also, that the order in which they are to speak and the side of the Question they are to espouse and support shall be ascertained, and strictly Adhered to, without any glaring deviation therefrom.

The Speaking Members at each debate being fully capable of Occupying the first Hour of debate, Namely, from 8 to 9, and the last 15 minutes of Each debate preceding 10 in the evening, So that each debate may always be opened and Shut with a Set or pre-meditated Speech, Which will contribute greatly to the Interest and respectability of the Institution.

These Arrangements are the more necessary, as the Pantheon has now to cope with the Theatre, the Circus, and every other place of public Exhibition and amusement going forward in Edinburgh—Besides the Students at the College having of late formed themselves into different debating Societies, under severe penalties for Absence, less Support and Emolument are now to be looked for from that quarter than formerly. The present being also a time of general Peace, all party spirit, and division of political Sentiments are at an end for some time.

The above arrangements however being held as made and adhered to, The Treasurer will venture to Say that the Receipts for the Ensuing year may be as follows.

ARTICLE 4—STATE OF RECEIPTS FROM 6 OCTR. 1791 TO
27 APRIL 1792, 30 QUESTIONS

To Proceeds of 3 debates @ £5 0 0 each	£15 0 0
To ditto of 3 ditto @ 3 10 0 „	10 10 0
To ditto of 2 ditto @ 3 0 0 „	6 0 0
To ditto of 5 ditto @ 2 10 0 „	12 10 0
To ditto of 7 ditto @ 1 10 0 „	10 10 0
To ditto of 10 ditto @ 1 0 0 „	10 0 0

Total Questions = 30	Total Receipts	64 10 0
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From which, Deduce the foregoing probable Expenditure	57 5 8
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There Remains a Balance in the Treasurers hands of	£7 4 4
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The Receipts of Some of these debates will probably be higher and Others Lower than the Sums above assumed But it is Believed, that if all things hold tolerably fortune, as previously, they will be nearly as above.	Average each debate £2 3 0
	Deduce Expendre. 1 11 6½
	Gain each debate £0 11 5½
	30 times which is 17 4 4
	Owing Treasurer 10 0 0

Some things remain to be mentioned, which, as they tend to promote Unity among the members, and good	Remains . . £7 4 4
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understanding between them, and their Doorkeepers, ought not to be neglected.

The Society should never consist of fewer than 13 Acting Members, 4 of whom ought to Speak on each debate, and 2 on each side of the question, in rotation, agreeable to an order previously fixed, and whose speeches with the Presidents Introduction, should occupy from 8 to 9 each Evening of debate.

At 9, the debate should be open for Strangers, or such of the 8 residuary members as choose to take part therein, and continue so till within 15 minutes to 10, when the 13th or odd member Should close the debate—in such time, as with calling the Votes reporting the decision and giving out next question, the meetings may dismiss by 10 or 15 minutes after 10 at latest.

The Votes ought Always to be Taken by one of the Silent Members.

The President should, if possible, be free of all other duty, and officiate in no other character, so as to add respectability to his office—If unconnected with the Society, so much the better. But at any rate, He should never make one of the 13 Acting Members—as their number cannot be Lessened without rendering the duty Intolerable, and creating a sameness of Speakers, which has ruined the dignity of the Institution.

The President ought to Enter the Chair, by a door and passage directly from the little side room into it—His coming through the common Room exposes him too much, and, with him, the dignity of the Society, to the ridicule & contempt of the Giddy.

A Gown would perhaps not render him less respectable. Tho' equality, as to power and direction, among the members, is essentially requisite and that no préeminence should ever be assumed or attempted—Yet the President during his office should be Sacred, spoke to with deference, and for the sake of Example, Obeyed chearfully. After Reporting the decision, he ought, in a winning and handsome manner to thank the Ladies and Gentlemen for their Attendance and hoping the honor of their presence next thursday Evening wish them all good night.

He ought always to have a Clerk, not so much for the utility of that office, as dignity of the Chair. The Clerk, tho' permitted to Speak his Sentiments on each question, should not be included in the number of the Acting members. It should be an office of Emolument, and the members free of its drudgery.

The Complaint, that by a member's attendance at the door deprives

the Society of his Support in debate, Ought to be Remedied by every male entering the Room having a Ticket of Admission or producing the written order of an Acting Member.

Each Member should also have a Ticket with his name on the back of it, and leave it with the doorkeepers.

So that on Counting the house by Two Silent Members, the number present would be more exactly ascertained than by any other method whatever. This method is practised with Success in all the Theatres, and public Societies in Europe where money is taken for Admission, and gives no Trouble whatever to the members, nor Doorkeepers whose wages answer for any deficiency beyond the number of three Tickets.

A Railing or gate door should be hung on the uppermost Step, within the outer door, that no person may enter forcibly, or without paying, and that one only may enter at once, which will prevent Confusion, and every Complaint from the doorkeepers that they are overpowered.

The Society should have Keys to the Two Gallery doors, So that no person may have access to them without their consent and thereby remedy the complaint, of late, frequently made.

Moving Seats or firms, at the Landlords expence should be provided to fill the vacant floor or most part of it, in case of a throng house—the Gallerys being unsuitable and ever giving handle to disorder—They ought only to be used in cases of necessity, or at medal debates, when the dignity and Importance of the Occasion stills all disturbance.

A Brilliant Glass Lamp with 4 lights should be put up either in the Entry opposite the outer door, or at the top of the Entry, the passage being dark and dismal, and the wall opposite the outer door should be white washed to give Effect to the light of the Lamp within the door—by these, a very general Complaint would be remedied.

The Chapel floor, seats, and firms should often be washed, vents Sweeped, and hearth stone and steps at the door cleaned also the Lustres dusted this would be most acceptable to the better sort of visitors, and render their attendance more frequent and comfortable.

All the Questions to be debated, every Session (Excepting 5 or 6 temporary light ones, which may be adopted at pleasure) should be known to the members and resident ordinary speaking visitors 3 months previous to opening. They should also be printed or wrote, in their order of being debated, and pasted on a Board hung within the Chapel, that All may see, and know them.

The Laws as to order and regularity should also be so hung up.

The Honorary members might be requested to Attend, and take part in the debates—this would add greatly to the respectability of the Institution.

All Advertisements and paragraphs should be written in the Chapel after each debate.

All Committees & other business should be held & Transacted therein.

If the above Suggestions were only partially adopted, the Receipts would be fully higher than as above assumed—and the Expenditure nothing increased. But as strict adherence to them is despaired of, in the present unsettled State of the Society, and as they are only the Substance of a much larger proposal composed as a new model of the Institution—The Treasurer shall next Exhibit the abridgement of that new model.

JOHN PENNEY.

NEW MODEL OF THE PANTHEON

It having been Found by Experience, that whatever may be the Zeal & Exertion of members, the Novelty of the Public, or Success of a debating Society, during the first years of its existence, Yet when the one flags the other wears off, and the Institution is in danger of falling into decay, Changes are not only Pardonable but essentially necessary.

A Society founded on Independent principles, supported by members of low dependent fortunes, who can reap no pecuniary benefit from it, will not be of long standing. It requires that they should be attached to it by stronger Ties, than mere glory, or Boast of disinterestedness. Exertions producing no benefit to the Author of them soon cease to please. The honor derived from them, when stripped of Emolument soon becomes unsatisfactory and Burthensome.

A Society supported by a few Individuals, while many retain the names and privileges of members, creates discord and division. Inequality, either in point of privilege or duty, breeds discontent, rouses party spirit, and ultimately, destroys the purposes it was originally intended to promote.

It has long been objected to the Pantheon Society, that the old members tho' residing in Town, had deserted it—That reading of Speeches altho' instructive, gave no amusement, and were repugnant to the Idea of debate—That Trifling conversation and puerile Exertion would soon Occasion its decay and downfall—That it had too few able Speakers—Too few Extempore speakers—That the Speakers were ill

sorted in point of Opinion, and that it followed no fixed or determined mode of Conduct, whereby the public were often deceived and disappointed of the Entertainment they expected from it, and therefore gave over attending it.

To These Objections, however well founded, Satisfactory Answers may be given—the fault is less in the members than in the Institution—They derive no pecuniary benefit—They are under no Obligation to Speak—They will speak, if it suits them—not otherwise. They are dependent on their Trades and professions—They will not sacrifice certain profit to certain loss—They love the Institution, but they will not support its Credit at the hazard of their own.

Then why open it at all, Say the public? Why Advertise in the newspapers and in Bills, Questions and debates, and after we have paid your demand and are admitted, no debate Ensues, no speaker appears no certain steps have been taken to recompense our Attendance and payment? Say not, it is the fault of the Institution for the Institution is such as you please to make it—If it is faulty amend it—If it is defective, supply these defects—It is no reason, that because it answered in 1773, it should answer equally well now, Accommodate it to the Times—Throw from it whatever is useless—add to it whatever is usefull—Keep its principle, '*Improvement in public speaking*'; it is a good one. 'Its hour of meeting "Eight" is a convenient one for most people.' Give charity, if you can afford it, without hurting yourselves, but not otherwise—It ceases to be charity, when it ruins the Giver. But above all make us sure of a debate, that will Instruct and amuse us—Say not that the members refuse to speak; you ought to be certain of their speaking, before you Invite us publickly,—when you make a promise, you should be in a Condition to perform it. Say not you expect Support from the Visitors,—They surely are not more bound to give it than the members—They come not with that intention—Their payment Secures their Silence—Support yourselves—perform your promise, to us, published in the papers, Bills, &c. Vary your Institution to answer our expectations,—Give us value for our money, and then dispose of it as you please. Give it away in Charity, distribute it among yourselves, Spend it in Dinners, Suppers, Committees, or in any manner you please, Give us Good debates and we ask no more.

If you are poor, and cannot afford to Study Speeches, to please us, *Gratis*, In God's name, pay yourselves from the proceeds; Give not to others what were better and more charitably bestowed on yourselves—

The Labourer is worthy of his hire—He who serves at the Altar should Live by it—It is one of the features of your Institution 'To Relieve Literary merit in distress'; why seek such objects at a distance when you have them at hand—Ought not Charity to begin at home—He who provides not for those of his own house is worse than an Infidel.

From your own Statements, your Receipts, for many years, have not answered your expenditure—The reasons are obvious. It is your own fault,—you have increased your expenses, without improving your resources, you have left unimproved the only branch of your Institution that called loudly for Improvement, Namely 'public Speaking.' Towards this you have taken no steps, though every Evening's debate for many years has evinced the disgust and aversion of the public at your 'reading' instead of 'Speaking.' In so much that your medal for poetry would have been adjudged to the Gentleman who received it, (merely because his Speech (which was indeed excellent) was delivered; not read) altho it had been a hundred times worse than it really was.

But if you are not yourselves sensible of what would please us suffer us to inform you—Banish public Reading, Adhere to, & persevere in 'public Speaking,' which it is the avowed object of your Institution to Improve—If you do so—your funds will increase at least fourfold. Your expences will be very little higher, and provided you Ensure us good debates you may do with the Balance what you please, without challenge.

If you are at a loss how to vary your Institution, or form yourselves into such a Society as will please us, and benefit yourselves we will inform you of that also.

You have already in the preceding branch of this paper Suggested many Improvements, all, or most part of which ought to be instantly adopted. Attention to Minutiae saves greater Troubles; the least handle for disorder gathers strength and creates mischief—It is amazing what a large fire is often kindled by a Small spark—you must therefore adhere to them—for altho, in general, we wish peace, yet Satan often presents himself among the Children of Light.

The name 'Pantheon'; the principle 'Improvement in public speaking'; the place 'St. Andrew's Chapel'; the day 'Thursday'; the hour 'Eight' in the Evening, are all highly agreeable and Convenient. In these we wish no Change.

Your advertisements, paragraphs, and penal laws are also Judicious and need no variation.

Your Medals do tolerably well—and would be nothing the worse of a little increase in value, if you can afford it.

Your weekly Bills should be of larger paper and larger print, and your question of a different Colour from the rest.

Your fire, Candles, and every other Article of your external or public appearance seems already sufficiently respectable.

So that we shall now chalk out the other parts of your Institution, so as to please us and benefit yourselves. And shall Divide them into the 3 following Heads :—

1. LAWS. 2. PROBABLE RECEIPTS. 3. EXPENDITURE

1. LAWS. Let the number of your Members be 10 without increase or diminution—as equal in point of abilities, wit, and judgment, as can be got. This is difficult, But upon it depends your Success.

Out of these chuse one for your president the first Thursday of every month, also one for your Clerk—Their offices to be monthly.

The remaining 8 members to speak every evening of debate for at least 10 minutes each (if not prevented by strangers) and for 3 minutes each by way of Reply—The Clerk, if time allows to speak 5 minutes every debate. These with your presidents Introduction of at least 5 minutes, will occupy the whole time of debate.

No Reading, except quotations, (which it is ungraceful to repeat) to be allowed on any Account, at the common debates—as to medal questions do as you please.

Let your language be pure and chaste, your Arguments rather few and weighty, than numerous and flimsy—Your Questions Tasteful and well chosen, such as in the discussion naturally lead to the Commendation of some Virtue, or dissuasion from some Vice.

Begin precisely at Eight or within 5 minutes after it. We do not like to pay and wait. Shut before or at Ten; unless on very interesting Occasions, and even then as soon After it as possible.

Hold your committees in your Chapel, and there draw your Advertisements and paragraphs—never Transact any of your Society-business in a public house.

If a member be Absent one Evening, let him lose the benefit thereof; If Two, the benefit of Three; If three, his place, and assume another.

Set Apart as much of each Evening's Receipts as will Answer the full average Expenses, of each evening's debate; Let it be Sacred, and devoted, not to be intromitted with at any rate.

If you distribute the overplus proceeds among the members, retain a Balance from the Share of Each, to secure their performance.

In this Case All Committee Bills, or others, must be paid by the Members equally.

Be strict as to order, and decent behaviour, Check all Indelicacies before the Ladies, Treat them favourably—They are a great Ornament to your Society, their presence Enlivens your debates and contributes much to increase your funds. Show them every degree of Civility and complaisance,—our Love of them will repay you.

Above all preserve Unity cheerfulness and good understanding & mutual Confidence and good faith among yourselves—and never Let anything Transpire or come to our knowledge that may Tend to Lessen you in our Esteem, or detract from the dignity Interest and respectability of your Institution.

Keep the means of debate in your own power—Trust not to Strangers—If they interfere, so much the better—But be ever in Condition of doing without them.

If you Keep to the Spirit and meaning of these Rules—you have nothing to fear from us. We will encourage you—you may depend on us. We will ever promote the Interests of a Society founded and conducted by our Advice, and on Rules we ourselves have made. We will be proud to see them prosper in your hands—We will not only come ourselves But Bring our Sweethearts, our wives, our Sons, our daughters our friends relatives and Acquaintances to hear your debates, admire your Exertions, and repay your Trouble and anxiety to please us—We will prefer your Society to the Theatre, the Circus, and every other place of public amusement—In these, what is to be said, is previously printed and Known—the speakers cannot go beyond their parts, and no room for genius and novelty of thought and Expression to exert themselves, is left to the discretion of the Speaker.

But with you every liberty of Speech, and freedom of debate are allowed, what you are to say none can previously pretend to Know—no prompter sickens the Audience by petulant Interferences—the Spark of Youthful genius, unrestrained, may either break forth into the flame of Eloquence, or rest in the equally useful path of Solid reasoning.

Infine your Society is a Child of our own—We will be partially Indulgent to your failures, and mark every Step of your progress with Approbation.

By Conforming to our Rules, the Amount of your Receipts, the

2d Article of your Constitution, will on a yearly average be nearly as follows.

2. STATE OF PROBABLE RECEIPTS OF THE PANTHEON SOCIETY

To Proceeds of 3 debates @ £7 10 0 Each	.	.	£22	10	0
To Ditto of 3 Ditto @ 6 6 0 "	.	.	18	18	0
To Ditto of 6 Ditto @ 5 5 0 "	.	.	31	10	0
To Ditto of 6 Ditto @ 3 10 0 "	.	.	21	0	0
To Ditto of 6 Ditto @ 2 10 0 "	.	.	15	0	0
To Ditto of 3 Ditto @ 2 0 0 "	.	.	6	0	0
To Ditto of 3 Ditto @ 1 10 0 "	.	.	4	10	0
Questions 30		Total proceeds	£119	8	0

At some debates, the Receipts will no doubt be higher, at others lower than the sums above assumed, But after you are properly Established, and the Improvements of the Institution sufficiently Known and understood, the gross amount will never be less, but often considerably more than the medium here guessed at.—It may ultimately with prudence and Exertion, amount to upwards of £150 Sterling Annually.

We shall now Close this Branch of the paper, by Ascertaining exactly the necessary Expenditure, under these Improvements,—Here Every thing ought to be more Clean and Genteel, than Gaudy or expensive.—no appearance of parsimony—none of Lavishness—All neatness—but shun ostentatious Extremes.

3. PROBABLE EXPENDITURE OF THE PANTHEON SOCIETY

	EXPENSES	RECEIPTS
To 1 Ream paper, making 30 bills weekly for 30 debates .	£1 1 0	£119 8 0
To Printing same, weekly, @ 2/	3 0 0	
To Licence to put up same	0 1 0	
To Putting up same, on streets, Auctions, Coffee-rooms and repetitions	1 17 6	
To 2 doorkeepers @ 2/6 weekly, and 6/ Extra	4 1 0	
To Ditto attending Committees	0 6 0	
To Soldiers 2/ weekly—distributive	3 0 0	
To Coals, oil Cotton, Taper, Small Candle &c	1 5 6	
To Wax Lights @ 3/6 weekly	5 5 0	
To Advertisements—6 times—4 papers	6 6 0	

To Chapel Rent & Cleaning Close, proportion	£5	5	0
To 3 Gold medals Engraving, & Ribbon			
@ £3 3 each	9	9	0
To 4 Diplomas yearly @ 5/3 each	1	1	0
To Commission to Ticket office (p Bargain)	1	1	0
To Gratuity for weekly paragraphs	1	1	0
To Base Coin	1	1	0
To Tickets & Cards (always clean)	1	1	0
To paper wax wafers pens Ink chairmen			
porters Cadies, postages & other Small			
Expenditure p. annum	1	1	0
To Cleaning Chapel & Seats, Sweeping vents,			
dusting Lustres carrying out offal &ca.	0	10	6
To Clerks Sallary, for recording Speeches,			
scrolling and Extending minutes, debates,			
Keeping books, Scrolling Copies of Ad-			
vertisements paragraphs Letters, Cards,			
and every other Drudgery	5	5	0
Deduce			£52 18 6

Leaving a free Fund of Distribution of . . . £66 9 6

Which divided among 10 members, Gives to Each £6 13 yearly Or nearly 4/6 each debate.

Observe—Every article of Expenditure is taken at the highest Calculation—while the receipts are taken at a medium, and may afford a much greater fund of distribution, and so increase the Share of each member.

Indeed, It is Impossible, at present, to Say, with Accuracy to what Extent the Receipts might be Improved, But, after mature deliberation, it is believed, they may amount to £150 sterling, yearly, which is sufficient to pay all Expences, and leave 5/ to each of 10 members, each debate, for 30 weeks yearly, which would be an adequate recompense for Speaking 13 minutes.

Besides, In this improved State of the Society, sufficient matter would be annually furnished, for publishing by Subscription, a Volume of the best Speeches, in an Elegant Saleable manner—of which 500 copies would not cost the Society—in whole, £37 10, and which, when Sold @ 3/6 per Volume would yield a gross profit of about £50 which would greatly increase the free Revenue of the Society.

The Galleries might also be opened for such Gentlemen and Ladies

as wished it @ 1/ to each Gentleman & Lady, Jointly, and 1/ to each of them Singly—which might still add somewhat to the free funds.

On medal nights the Admission money might be double, without any danger of losing respectability, and in that case the Galleries proportionately higher; without Censure, or Impeachment of partiality All which would tend to Improve the divisible funds.

Each member taking a Benefit would be too Theatrical and look mean—Infine, no rational price would be grudged, provided the debates were rendered Spirited and Entertaining.

Other Improvements, may, from time to time be Suggested.

The Above are what have hitherto Occurred to the Societys devoted,
and faithful Member & Servant.—

JOHN PENNEY.

JOHN A. FAIRLEY.

SCULPTURED STONES OF OLD EDINBURGH

THE DEAN GROUP

OLD EDINBURGH was at one time crusted over with mottoed lintels, ornamental dormers, and panels bearing heraldic devices and the insignia of trade. They were the testimony of the faith and philosophy, the record of the family pride and the industrial importance of dead and gone generations, graven in stone. The city is still rich in these memorials. But they no longer challenge the eye, even in the oldest streets and closes. They have to be hunted for; and they grow scarcer. Time and our northern weather are constantly at work rubbing out the lettering and carving of the past. But the sculptured stones of Old Edinburgh and of its environs have other enemies. Accident, or vandalism, chipped a handbreadth out of one of the inscriptions noted in this article while it was being written. Account has also to be taken of the wear and tear of traffic, of the march of improvement, of careless or ignorant attempts at restoration, of the damaging effects of transplacement, even of misdirected antiquarian zeal and the acquisitiveness of archaeological collectors.

Many of our historic stones have been covered over from public sight; many more have disappeared into private possession; many have gone astray and all trace of them has been lost. It becomes yearly more difficult to answer the question — 'What mean these stones?' or even 'Where are they hid?' Some of them are preserved in the Municipal and other museums. But, as a rule, it is not desirable that these mural

records should be gathered into either public or private collections—except as a means of rescuing them from the ‘wallet of Oblivion.’ They lose half their value and interest when removed from the walls and from the site with which they are associated; they may continue to be city antiquities; they cease to be city adornments and landmarks. The energies of the Old Edinburgh Club would not be ill employed in the work of systematically seeking out these historic and artistic treasures, and in cataloguing and depicting them for the information of our own and future generations.

As a modest beginning of this pious labour, which I must leave to others with more skill and time for research to continue, I have attempted to furnish a kind of *catalogue raisonné* of the armorial and other carved and inscribed stones within or in immediate contact with the Barony of the Dean, on the north-western outskirts of Edinburgh, and especially of the remarkable series that form the relics of the House of Dean, and chronicle and illustrate the history and the marriage alliances of the family of Nisbet, who built it and were its possessors for nearly two and a half centuries. The Dean House was one of the many half-castellated mansions that rose in the neighbourhood of the Scottish capital after the close of the Marian troubles and the Union of the Crowns, when with the dying down of family feuds and civil and religious warfare, and the stanching of the quarrel between the Kingdoms, trade and art began to revive, and a Scotsman’s house did not need to be in so literal a sense, his castle. A number of them still exist within or adjoining the city’s bounds, more or less altered to meet modern tastes and requirements, such as the Grange, Dalry, Coates, Bruntsfield, Merchiston, Craighouse, Roseburn, Saughton House and Hall, Craigentinnie, the Inch, Upper Liberton; others, like Peffermill and Stenhope or Stenhouse-mill, survive in a state of dilapidation. The House of Dean disappeared some sixty years ago, to make way for the formation of the beautiful Dean Cemetery. But this did not

happen until after certain of its features, characteristic of a Scottish manor-house, had been immortalised in the pages of *Waverley*; and at its dissolution it had the good fortune to have what may be considered the choicest of its mural ornaments preserved in neighbouring walls, where they can be viewed and, with a little trouble, understood by the citizen of to-day.

They will be found to open an interesting chapter or series of chapters not only in the family history of the Nisbets, but of the municipal, the industrial, the political, and the ecclesiastical history of the city in which the owners of the old house and their connections, whose arms and honours are recorded on these stones, were eminent citizens and merchants, luminaries of the law, leaders in civic affairs, pioneers of foreign commerce, ambassadors of the King and emissaries of the Convention of Burghs in arranging tariffs and establishing trade relations with the States of the Continent. There are also revealed, along with curious glimpses of character and old customs, problems in heraldry, in genealogy, and in architecture, which the writer cannot flatter himself that he has successfully unravelled. It would have been impossible for him to follow the maze of Nisbet family history—for into a chronicle of the descendants of Provost Henry Nisbet of 1597 the decipherment of the Dean stones resolves itself—without the previous labours on the pedigree by Mr. Andrew Ross, who, in conjunction with Mr. Francis Grant, has edited the *Plates of Nisbet the Heraldist's System*, now in the library at Cleghorn. It is not easy to glean much that is new in the steps of these authorities, to whose courteous help acknowledgment is thankfully made. Thanks are likewise due to Mr. Alan Reid, Mr. James Moffat, and Mr. John Kay for exploiting the ground, and taking and preparing the photographs for illustration.

The association of the Dean mansion with the seat of the Baron of Bradwardine—the typical 'Scottish Manor-house Sixty Years Since'—rests upon Sir Walter's own testimony.

After mentioning, in the Notes to *Waverley*, that 'the House of Warrender upon Brunsfield Links and Old Ravelston both contributed hints,' he adds, 'The House of Dean, near Edinburgh, has also some points of resemblance to Tully-Veolan,' and then proceeds to say that he has been informed that the House of Grandtully is still more like the description in the text than any of these. The chief point of resemblance in the case of the Dean House, which Scott must often have passed on his way to Ravelston and on other country walks, was probably the multiplicity of heraldic ornaments, in the shape of 'ravenous beasts,' which were 'carved over the windows and upon the ends of the gables, terminated the spouts, and supported the turrets' at Tully-Veolan. 'The dry-stone walls' fencing the gardens agree not ill with the 'Ravelston Dykes' that intersect the Dean; the 'tun-bellied pigeon-house of great size and rotundity' of the Bradwardines might have been drawn from the old ruined doocot—or is it a dilapidated windmill?—standing behind John Watson's Institution on the former Barony lands; while the 'sundial of large circumference' may have its counterpart in the gnomon-stone, now built into the terrace-wall of the Dean Cemetery, which once kept time for the old Nisbets.

A family of Nisbet first appears in the records, in connection with the lands of that name in the Merse, in the twelfth century. In 1139, Cospatrick, Earl of Dunbar, granted Nisbet, which had a chapel attached to the principal church of Edre-ham (Edrom), to the Priory of Coldingham. William de Nesebite is found in possession of East and West Nisbet before the end of the century. East Nisbet was acquired by the Chirnsides; but Adam Nisbet held the lands of West Nisbet in 1442, and the family remained Nisbet *de eodem*, through eight later generations, until it terminated with Alexander Nisbet, the author of *The System of Heraldry*, who died in 1722, 'the last of his race.' Adam, it may be observed, was a common baptismal name among the Nisbets of Nisbet; it occurs four times in the direct line of descent from the Laird of 1442 to the Heraldist.

This has a bearing upon a claim, put forward on behalf of what may be called the Edinburgh branch of the stock, mentioned by Mr. George Crawford, in his *Historical and Critical Remarks on Ragman's Roll*, on the authority of Sir John Nisbet of the Dean, and reaffirmed by Mr. John Riddell, the well-known writer on feudal law and antiquities, who was himself descended, on the mother's side, from the Dean Nisbets. The claim was 'that the Dean family, and consequently those of Craigentinnie and Dirleton, were descended from Adam Nisbet, a son of a baron of Dalzell, who came to Edinburgh in the time of James IV.' It will be seen shortly that the testimony of Sir John Nisbet upon a matter of ancestry and tradition is not above suspicion; and the investigations of Mr. Andrew Ross have failed to discover the exact connecting links between the old House of Nisbet and the 'Adam Nisbet, a burgess in Edinburgh early in the sixteenth century, who was the common ancestor of the Craigentinnie, Dean and Dirleton families.'

That there was a bond of blood-relationship between the landed families in the Merse and in Clydesdale and the race of Edinburgh merchants and burgesses, seems, however, to be beyond reasonable doubt. In 1513, George, brother of Adam of Nisbet, purchased Dalzell from John Nisbet his kinsman (*consanguineus*), and the barony remained in the family for at least four generations, one of the grants (1574) being witnessed by 'James Nisbet, burgess in Edinburgh.' It has been remarked that a striking feature in the history of the Edinburgh family, as of the main Border stock, from whom it is believed to have sprung, was 'its undeviating loyalty to the sovereign.' The Adam Nisbet who crops up in the annals of the capital during the Reformation troubles was, like most of his country kin, a staunch supporter of the old Catholic party and the Queen Regent, Mary of Guise; and it is a not insignificant fact bearing on the claim of old descent that a grandson, Edward, was concerned along with a son of the Laird of Nisbet, 'in

the slaughter of the son of the guidman of Edrom.' Blood in those days was evidently thicker than water, even after it had flowed for several generations in the channels of trade; and we are reminded of Bailie Nicol Jarvie's escapade in the Highlands, when we discover the Edinburgh burgess leaving his house in Gray's Close to mix himself up in a dubious feud on the Whitadder.

The loyalty of the Nisbets of Nisbet ultimately proved the ruin of this ancient family. Sir Alexander Nisbet, the builder of the old 'Place' of Nisbet, forfeited his property in 1650, in consequence of his staunch adherence to the Royalist cause; and the house and lands passed into the possession of John Ker, burgess in Edinburgh, a scion of the family of Cavers, although not until after a long and determined struggle. By his wife, Katherine Swinton, daughter of Sir Robert Swinton of that Ilk, Sir Alexander had five sons, all of whom were engaged in the quarrel of the King against the Commonwealth. The eldest, Philip, made a brilliant defence of Newark, but was captured at Philiphaugh, and was executed in 1645 at Glasgow, where a tombstone in the Cathedral churchyard, no longer discoverable, is said to have borne his name and arms. Two of his brothers were slain on the day of Montrose's discomfiture. 'Nisbit, the Heraldist,' was the son of Adam, the fifth of the five gallant brethren who took up arms for the Royal race that made so poor a recompence for their devotion when the tables were turned in favour of the Stuarts.

A stone formerly above the doorway at Nisbet bears the initials of the builder and his wife—'S. A. N.', 'D. K. S.'—and a shield with the family arms, three boars' heads erased. All the stones of the Edinburgh series bear the chevron, as a mark of cadency accompanying a claim of descent from the original stock. And hereby hangs a tale of one of the most remarkable forgeries in the history of heraldry. In the second volume of the folio edition of Nisbet's *System of Heraldry*, published in 1742—seventeen years after the author's death—occurs the following

passage which has often been quoted, and, on the assumption that it is authentic, subjected to scathing comment by heraldic authorities :—

'Sir John Nisbet of Dean, Baronet, his family has been in Use for a long time, by Allowance of Authority, to carry supporters, viz., on the right Side of the Shield a Savage wreathed about the Head and Middle, holding a Baton in his Right Hand all proper, and on the left Side a Grayhound proper; which two Supporters uphold the principal Arms of the Family of Nisbet of That Ilk, viz., Argent, three Boars Heads erased Sable, armed and langued Gules, with the crest of the Family, laying aside the Cheveron, a mark of Cadency, used formerly by the House of Dean: In Regard that the Family of Dean has Right, by Consent, to represent the old original Family of the Name of Nisbet, since the only lineal Male Representer (the Author of this System) is like to go soon off the World, being an old Man, and without Issue, Male or Female.'

Nisbet's original MS. is in the possession of the Lyon Office, and it proves that the passage on account of which he has been denounced as a 'trafficker,' who retailed for a pittance the ancient honours of his family, has been interpolated, by those who prepared the posthumously-issued folio, between entries of the arms of Dalmahoy of that Ilk and of Edgar of Wedderlie. In the volume published by Messrs. Ross and Grant a facsimile is given of the page containing these entries, and they show that this is only one of a long series of garblings and falsifications, foisted in Nisbet's name and to the injury of his reputation. These heraldic and genealogical frauds, which remained undiscovered for a hundred and fifty years, have been set down to the account of Roderick Chalmers, 'herald and herald-painter,' to whom the preparation of the folio was committed. The quotation given above must be pronounced the most flagrant of the series, since Nisbet is made to come forward in his own person, with an appeal to our sympathies, while practically confessing an offence against the canons of the science of which he was an ardent student. The editors

of the *Nisbet Plates* pronounce that 'the deed was perpetrated in the interests of the Dean branch of the Nisbet family, whose influence throughout Volume 2 of the folio, in which they more than once claim to be the principal family of the name, is quite apparent.' 'There can be no doubt,' it is said, 'that it was effected between 1723 and 1728, and the irony of the situation consists in the fact that Sir John Nisbet of Dean, for whose family glorification the fraud was concocted, died fourteen years before the world became acquainted with the ambitious claim made by him on behalf of his family.' As Sir John, like Alexander Nisbet and Roderick Chalmers, is no longer here to answer for himself, it seems only fair to say that the allegation that this bold heraldic 'fake' was made on his prompting and with his collusion is, after all, a suspicion founded on assumed motive, and falls considerably short of proof. It has not been shown that he ever made use of the 'principal Family Arms'; and the fact that the claim of a right to do so did not appear in print until so many years after his death should tell in his favour.

Adam Nisbet, 'merchant to James v.,' was by no means the first of the name to take a prominent part in local trade and town affairs. There was an Alexander de Nesbet, a councillor of Edinburgh in 1368; and during the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries numerous individuals of the same name, if not of the same stock, appear on the burgess roll. An 'Alexander Nieseбет (Nisbet) from Edinburgh,' who came to Elbing, in Prussia, towards the close of the sixteenth century, and married the daughter of a town councillor of the place, and after her death the daughter of another town dignitary, and whose own daughter became the wife of the Mayor of Elbing, may well have been a member of a group of citizens who seem to have had a genius for municipal work and for marrying well.¹ In the holograph Notes of Sir John Lauder, Lord Fountainhall, in the charter-chest of Sir Thomas Dick Lauder (printed in an

¹ Fischer's *The Scots in Eastern and Western Prussia*, p. 112.

appendix to Mrs. Stewart Smith's *Grange of St. Giles*) it is stated that the merchant to the 'Commons King' married 'Madame Beatrix Ambrosia, one of Queen Marie of Lorraine's Maids of Honor' and 'daughter to Monsieur Ambroise, an Italian,' who was secretary to the queen in her widowhood. 'The said Adam Nisbet, of whom the Laids of Dean, Craigen-tinny, Dirleton, etc., are all descended, had by Dame Ambrosia, besides other children, Margaret Nisbet,' who was married to John Seton, son of the Laird of Parbroath, whose daughter Isobel (Fountainhall's great-grandmother) became the wife of Patrick Eleis, a wealthy Edinburgh bailie, who acquired the lands of Stenhopemill, Plewlands, Southside and Mortonhall, and whose arms and initials, with the date 1623, are to be found carved above the lintel of the doorway of old Stenhopemill House. Isobel's son, Alexander Eleis, married Elizabeth, daughter of Nicol Edward, Dean of Guild, whose daughter Isobel was wife of 'John Lauder, merchant in Edinburgh, afterwards designed Sir John Lauder of Fountainhall, lineally descended from the Laids of Lauder of that Ilk.'

The author of the *Historical Observes*, the son of this union, in his attempt to blazon his maternal coat-of-arms, in which he includes 'Nisbet of Dean,' sets us on the trail of more than one of the lost sculptured stones of Old Edinburgh. For he says of his grandfather, the Dean of Guild, that he was 'grandchild of another Nicol Edward, Provost of Edinburgh in 1592, being of a most antient descent in that Burgh, and who built those great lodgings in the middle of Niddrie's Wynd, where I have seen the said Nicol Edward's name and arms on the lintell of a Chimney with this Anagram on his name in french, "Va d'un vol à Christ" "goe with one flyght to Christ."'" Provost Edward's house was that afterwards known as 'Lockhart's Lodging,' in which James VI. and his Queen lived in January 1591, when frightened out of Holyrood by the plots of Francis, Earl Bothwell, and from whence, in the following month, Lord Huntly set forth to take his part in the

murder of the 'Bonnie Earl of Moray.' The Chancellor at the same time lodged 'at the same wynd-head,' in the house of Provost Alexander Clark, the door-lintel of which, bearing the words 'The Lord is my Protector: Alexandrus Clark,' found a place for a time in the walls of Walter Ross's mansion of St. Bernard's, in the Barony of Dean. The arms of Adam Nisbet's spouse, Madame Beatrix Ambrosia—this euphonious baptismal name is still perpetuated in the Dick Lauder family—Fountain-hall is unable to supply, for 'the coat armorial of Monsieur Ambroise, the Italian Secretary, we cannot well know without consulting the books published in France and Italy containing the bearings of these nations and what were the gentilian arms of the Ambrosian Sirname.'¹

According to the editors of *Nisbet's Plates*, an Adam Nisbet, whom we take to be the son of James v.'s 'merchant,' married Elizabeth Hay. His half Italian blood and his connection with the Court through his mother would sufficiently account for his strong support of the Old Religion and of the Queen Regent. Besides three daughters, Christian, Marion, and Elizabeth, he had two sons, the second of whom, William, 'ane honest and discreit man,' was made a freeman and burgess of the city in 1567, and 'died of the pest' in September 1585. 'William Nisbet, merchant,' is one of the councillors whose names are appended to the King's 'Decret Arbitral' fixing the constitution of the town in 1583, and he was second bailie in the following year. He married Isobel Mauchane (probably descended from John Mauchan, a bailie in 1523, and name-father of Mauchan's Close), who afterwards took as her second husband, George Ballenden, or Ballantyne, or Bannatyne,—the names are interchangeable—merchant burgess in Edinburgh. This is none other than the collector and preserver of Scottish ballads, after whom the Bannatyne Club is named, who, on his wife's death in 1603, enters in his 'Family Record' his high appreciation of her worth as 'ane godly, honest, wyiss, vertewous, and

¹ Mrs. Stewart Smith's *The Grange of St. Giles*, pp. 407-8.

trew matrone, who was first mareit to uqm¹ williã nisbet, baillie.¹

The elder son, Henry Nisbet, calls for fuller notice. His arms and initials,—the familiar chevron and three boars' heads erased, with the letters 'H. N.'—are on one of the stones taken from the old Dean House, evidently placed there in his honour by his son William, the builder of the mansion. They are enclosed in a wreath of oak leaves (Fig. 1).



Fig. 1.

Built into the terrace wall near it is a smaller stone, containing a cross between four mullets and bearing a crescent—the Bannatyne or Ballantyne family arms—together with the initials 'I. B.'



Fig. 2.

It is evidently a memorial of 'Jonet Ballenden, eldest dochter of James Ballenden, writer,' of Kirkton of Newtyle, the sister of George Bannatyne, the antiquary, the wife of Henry Nisbet, Provost of Edinburgh, and the mother of Sir William Nisbet, the purchaser of Dean (Fig. 2).

Henry Nisbet who is thus recorded was a man of mark and influence in his day, in the affairs of the Kingdom as well as in the civic life of the town. He was made a free burgess and guild brother in January 1561, 'be reason of his wife.' In 1569, a time of trouble, when Sir William Kirkaldy of Grange was Captain of the Castle, and Provost, he was chosen a bailie; he was frequently re-elected to the office, and nearly twenty years later—from December 1597 to November 1598—he was

¹ *The Account Book of Sir John Foulis of Ravelston*, p. xlvi (Scottish History Society).

himself Provost of the city. He was a zealous supporter of the Earl of Arran, and of King James's ecclesiastical polity, and through escheat and purchase became the owner of much property in the town and neighbourhood. 'Hendry Nisbett's Close,' concerning which the Dean of Guild Court had to pass an order, forbidding the occupants to empty filth into it from their 'schottis' or openings, was probably called after him. On 21st May 1578, the magistrates sent Henry Nisbet and two other townsmen as a deputation to Regent Mar, then Captain of Stirling Castle and in charge of the young King James, to assure him that they had neither sent nor paid any men of war to fight against him, and that they continued mindful of 'the benefites and gude will quhilk we have resavit of your nobill parentis now with God.'¹ His name comes most prominently forward, however, in connection with the important and delicate missions he was charged to undertake in foreign countries in the interests of Scottish trade and shipping.

The 'tariff question' was a burning one in those days, and preference, reciprocity, and retaliation were practised in forms that are no longer familiar. The records of the burgh of Edinburgh show that, on 25th October 1570, Henry Nisbet was ordained to pass into England with the Abbot of Dunfermline 'for lowsing of the arrestmentis of the schippis in France'; and two or three weeks later he was directed, this time with the authority of 'the maist part of the haille burrois of this realme,' to wait upon the King of France, 'quhairuir he may be found within his hienes dominounis,' to crave the observance of the ancient liberty granted to the ships of the Scottish nation. In the following January, the Convention of Burghs, in consideration that their 'weil-beluvitt nyctbour, Henry Nesbett,' was engaged in obtaining the discharge of the edict forbidding the resort of Scottish vessels to any of the sea towns of France, engaged to bear part of his expenses, limited to 3000 merks. On 25th October 1574 he received the thanks of the Con-

¹ *Earl of Mar and Kellie's Papers*, p. 31 (Historical MSS. Commission).

vention for his services in the matter of the 'furthsetting of ane schip and bark for resisting of Inglis pyratteis vpoun the sea.'¹

Later, in July 1578, Henry Nisbet, 'merchant, comburgess and indweller in Edinr,' was ordained by the Convention to proceed to Campvere, on the important duty of establishing the Staple, or trade monopoly, for the Scottish nation, and in the part of 'factor, actor, and special errand-bearer,' to confer with the magistrates and council of the town, and conclude with them 'vpon sic thingis as he sall think gude for the weill of the merchant estait, and to seik the counsall and assistance of my Lord Conservatour (George Hakket) and Alexander Segait to this effect.' His charges were to be repaid to the extent of 'twenty four pundis, greit,' to be taken from 'every sek of gudes that sall come in Flanderis, the soume of ten stures' (stivers). The objects include the appointment of a prison or place of punishment, and 'ane honorabill and commodious place for preching and prayeris.' The business of the Staple was successfully concluded before the end of the year, and so well satisfied were the Commissioners of Burghs with their ambassador that, in October 1582, 'Eftir lang resouming vpoun the qualificatiounis of dyveris and sindry merchantis quhome they nicht have thochtt maist meitt' for executing their commission in France for the 'doungetting' of intolerable new customs burdens placed on certain sorts of wares, whereby the 'hail merchantt estaitt of this realme is gretumlie dampnefeit,' with 'ane voce, bot variance, they elected and nominat Henry Nesbit, burgess in Edinburgh' as their representative in the matter, who 'notwithstanding thatt the burrowis of this realme hes bene very vnmyndfull of his guid service done to them in the pairtis of France and Flanderis at dyveris tymes of befor,' accepted the duty, it being understood that his expenses should not exceed 'two thousand franks.' It may be remarked that the commissioner for Glasgow on this occasion, Robert Adam, was unable to sign his own name. A fresh commission came in

¹ *Records of the Convention of Royal Burghs*, vol. i. p. 31.

February 1587. In view of the new imposts at Dieppe and other French Ports, the Burghs directed their 'weil-beluvit Henry Nesbett, merchant in Edinburgh, ofttymes of befor employitt in the lyke advis as maistt skilfull and diligentt,' to proceed with a letter of recommendation to James Beaton, Archbishop of Glasgow, the King's ambassador in Paris, for remede. At the desire of the Convention and of 'Jhone Arnott, Provost of the burgh of Edinburgh' (whose daughter was married to Henry Nisbet's son James), he accepted the charge and undertook to accomplish it in the space of seven weeks after his arrival in Paris, the sum of five hundred pounds being set aside for his expenses.

Evidently a hitch occurred, through no failure of skill and pains on the part of the commissioner. For on the 4th July 1588, there is an entry in the Convention records finding that Henry Nisbet had done his exact diligence in the matter, according to a letter received by his hands from the Archbishop, who (on the eve of the sailing of the Armada) wrote, 'We had na littill hoip, be the moyne of sic as favouris our natioun, to hev brocht the mater to sum guid pointt schortlie, war nocht the inconvenientt that is laitlie intervenit heir, quhair of the said berar will and can inform zow sufficientlie, and thairfoir we haif thocht it meitest, in respect of the mallure of tyme, that he should return hamewartt quhill better occasioun be offerit.' On the following day he acted as Procurator for the King, when the question of trade with Campvere was again under consideration. In July 1601 he was elected moderator of the Convention of Burghs, one of the commissioners for Edinburgh sitting with him being 'George Hereott, zounger.'¹ He died in 1607, two years before his son William became owner of the Dean. On June 11 of the following year (1608) the Town Council, 'for the guid offices done to the guid towne be umquhile Henry Nesbett, sumtyme Provost of this burgh, and for guid services done be James and William

¹ *Records of the Convention of Royal Burghs*, vol. ii. p. 115.

Nesbett his sones,' grant and give 'license to his bayrnis to big and rayse unto him ane tombe in their buriall-place' in the Greyfriars, 'quhar the said umquhile Henry is bureyit.' The Dean of Guild accounts for 1609 contain an entry of a sum received from William Nisbet 'for trees planted about his father's burial place at Greyfriars.' Nisbet the Heraldist is stated to be buried beside 'the Nisbet tomb.' No doubt it was one of the array of the 'fair tombs and monuments erected in memory and honour of divers merchants and others'¹ noted in Sir William Brereton's journal of 1635. Those to some of Provost Nisbet's old comrades and fellow-counsellors—the Heriots, the Foulises, and others—still exist; but the panel at the Dean is his only memorial in the 'guid towne' to which he did so many 'guid offices.'

The portrait of this energetic and able public servant hangs in Archerfield House, one of the possessions of his descendants. The portrait, which Ross and Grant speak of as one of the earliest, if not the very earliest in existence of a Provost of Edinburgh, is described as that of 'an aged man of dignified appearance and resolute countenance, seated in a chair of State, attired in a garb of black velvet, a skull cap of the same material, and deep ruffles round the neck and wrists. A ruddy complexion, keen black eyes, grey moustaches, a beard pointed after the fashion of the time, complete the picture. In a corner appears the Provost's arms—argent, on a chevron gules, between three boars' heads erased sable, a cinquefoil of the field.'

The sharply cut lettering of the stone with the Bannatyne arms may suggest that it is of later date than the beginning of the seventeenth century. There was another 'Jonet Bannatyne,' niece and namesake of Henry Nisbet's wife—daughter of her sister Katherine and of James Bannatyne, writer in Edinburgh—who married in the next generation 'John Nisbet, servitor to Mr. Alexander Guthrie, Common Clerk of Edinburgh.'

But there can be no reasonable doubt that the stone com-

¹ Hume Brown's *Early Travellers in Scotland*, p. 146.

memorates the mother of the original builder of Dean House. She was one of the twenty-three children of James Bannatyne and Katherine Taillefeir, the 'tymes of the nativities' of whom are duly set down in the record written by her brother George Bannatyne. (Bannatyne Club publications, and *Foulis of Ravelston's Account Book*, Scottish History Society.) It may be of interest to those who take note of the declining birth-rate that the mother of this large family, 'ane woman of godly conversation, with whom her husband led ane godly, charetable, and plesand lyfe'—died in 1570 at the age of 47. Her husband survived her thirteen years, and left behind him six sons and three daughters 'all weill and sufficientlie provyded for be him under God.' Janet, the eldest daughter, was born in 1541. Ample proof of the close ties of friendship, relationship, and business existing between the families of Nisbet and of Bannatyne, and through the latter with that of George Heriot, are to be found in George Bannatyne's genealogical entries. It has been seen that his wife was married in the first place to Adam Nisbet's son William; she was the mother of that Edward Nisbet who got into a scrape through meddling in the family quarrels in the Merse, and who is found selling his house in Gray's Close to his cousin, James Nisbet of Craigentinnie. Her only son by George Bannatyne, James, born in 1589, had this James Nisbet—'my sister's sone' he is described by the keeper of the 'Family Record'—as one of his godfathers, and as godmother 'Katherine Dick, ye relict of umq¹⁶ Wm Bissett, chirurgaine,' who was probably related to the Dicks of Braid and to the 'Dame Katherine Dick,' wife of Sir William Nisbet of Dean, whose arms and initials appear on three of the Dean stones. Janet, the daughter and heiress of George Bannatyne, married George Foulis, goldsmith in Edinburgh, Master of the King's Mint, and purchaser of Ravelston, whose mother, Anna Heriot of Lumphoy, was a relative of 'Jingling Geordie.' 'George Heriot, the elder,' 'Henrie Nisbett,' 'Mr Patrick Nisbett,' and 'Sir Wm Nisbett of the Dein, Kng^t, Proveist of

Edn,' are among the godfathers of her children; she was grandmother of Sir John Foulis, the writer of the *Ravelston Account Book*.

There were three sons by the marriage of Henry Nisbet and Jonet Bannatyne—James, William, and Patrick, the founders of the families of Craigentinnie, Dean, and Dirleton respectively. James, the eldest, was, like his father before him, a great and successful Edinburgh merchant. He was admitted a Guild brother in 1601. In 1612-13 he was commissioner for Edinburgh at the Convention of Burghs, and was four times chosen moderator of that representative body. A few years before, he had been appointed, along with the commissioners for Edinburgh, to confer with 'the Lord McAngzie' anent 'pecebell fisching in the Lews.' He was also chosen in 1611 as a deputy to proceed to London and remonstrate with the King against the raising of the charges on goods passing between England and Scotland. It was under his presidency that the Council, on 23rd December 1612, resolved to go forward with the building of Old Greyfriars Church.

He had numerous connections, through his own family and that of his wife, with the leading public personages of the day, especially in the Town Council and on the Bench. He married Marion, second daughter of Sir John Arnot of Birswick, Provost of Edinburgh from 1587 to 1589, and for some years Treasurer Depute and a Privy Councillor of the Kingdom, and, according to his descendant, Bishop Burnet, a man in great favour with James VI. None of the stones preserved at the Dean records the name and arms of James Nisbet; his memorial may have been lost. But the panel with the letters 'M. A.' and the chevron between three mullets of the Arnots, was evidently placed in honour of his wife, Marion Arnot. A notable feature of this stone is the zoomorphic enclosing scroll, suggestive of ancient Celtic or Anglo-Saxon ornamentation (Fig. 3).

Through this lady, the Nisbets, who for the most part gave staunch, and in one case at least, unscrupulous support to the

policy of the Court in Kirk and State, were brought into contact with a zealous Presbyterian and Covenanting stock, and in those days, when not to be a persecutor meant to be persecuted, a great strain must often have been placed on family affections

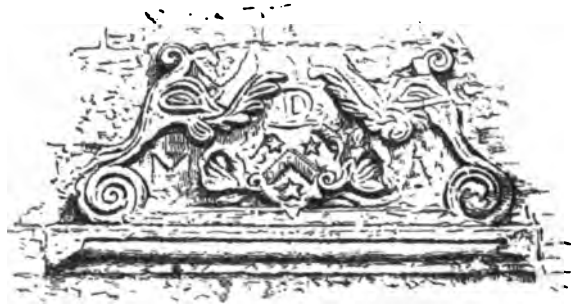


Fig. 3.

by the political events and ecclesiastical issues of the times. Marion Arnot, with her amazingly complicated links of connection with the Bench, the Government, and the political parties of her own and succeeding generations, might be taken as illustration of Edinburgh's right to the title of 'the Metropolis of the Law.' The brother of her first husband, James Nisbet, was Sir Patrick Nisbet, Lord Eastbank, the father of a more famous lawyer and Lord of Session, Sir John Nisbet of Dirleton, the author of the 'Doubts' and the 'Decisions,' and Lord Advocate in the 'Killing Time.' She married, as her second husband, Sir Lewis Stewart of Kirkhill, the eminent pleader and Royal Commissioner at the momentous General Assembly of 1638, who, along with her nephew, Dirleton, was counsel for Montrose at his trial. Her mother was Margaret Craig, sister of Sir Thomas Craig of Riccarton, the great writer on feudal law. Her sister Rachel married Archibald Johnston, a leading Edinburgh merchant and citizen, and as a rich woman (Sciennes and also Dunglass, in Berwickshire, belonged to her) full of zeal in the cause, was 'much engaged to and courted by the Presbyterian party.' Her nephew, James Johnston, merchant-burgess,

married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Thomas Craig, and became father of the celebrated Johnston of Warriston, the most prominent Covenanting leader of his day, who, during the Cromwellian period, had a chief hand in the government of Scotland, and suffered at the Cross for his opinions after the Restoration. Warriston's wife was a daughter of another Lord of Session, Sir Alexander Hay, Lord Foresterseat, and granddaughter of Sir John Skene of Curriehill, Lord Clerk Register. Another nephew of Marion Arnot, Samuel Johnston of the Sciennes, married a sister of Lord Prestongrange and granddaughter of Preston of Fentonbarns, Lord President of the Court from 1609 to 1616. Her niece, Jonet Johnston, was wife of Sir James Skene of Curriehill, Lord President of the Court of Session, who refused, on Easter Day 1619, to receive the Communion kneeling, according to the Articles of Perth, being moved thereto, as surmised in Calderwood's History, by 'the dissuasions of his mother-in-law (Rachel Arnot) and her daughter, his wife, a religious gentlewoman.' Another Rachel of the same breed and spirit—the sister of Lord Warriston—married Robert Burnet, the friend of the 'Saintly Leighton,' and a judge of Session under the name of Lord Crimond; and their son, Gilbert Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury, relates in his *History of his Own Times*, that his father, by marrying this eldest grandchild and namesake of the lady who was reckoned 'the chief support of the party,' saw 'a great way into all the methods of the Puritans,' and that his mother could never be moved from the principles in which she was bred, and hid in her house James Guthrie, the chief of the Remonstrant preachers.¹

James Nisbet died in 1621. His son by Marion Arnot, Henry Nisbet, married Isobel Nicolson, daughter of Sir Thomas Nicolson of Cockburnspath, Lord Advocate, and died in 1667 in his house in Blackfriars Wynd, and was buried in Greyfriars Churchyard. He acquired part of the lands of Restalrig by tack along with John, second Lord Balmerino, and on his death his son Patrick

¹ *Warriston's Diary*, edited by G. M. Paul, pp. 4-7 (Scottish History Society).

became infeft in Craigentinnie, and in 1667 was made a baronet by Charles II. Three years later, Sir Patrick Nisbet, 'for certain large sums of money paid and other good causes,' exchanged 'the twelve oxengangs of Restalrig, feued by Sir Robert Logan' with Alexander Nisbet for the lands of Dean. By this excambion, the Nisbets of Craigentinnie became Nisbets of the Dean, and the Nisbets of the Dean, descendants of Sir William Nisbet, became for a short time Nisbets of Craigentinnie; the eldest branch were put in possession of the manor-house on the banks of the Water of Leith, on which the family honours and alliances were recorded in stone.

The builder of the House of Dean, Sir William Nisbet, was born in 1569, and, like his father, Provost Henry Nisbet, and his elder brother, he had a long and successful career as an Edinburgh merchant. Credit has been given to him as being, along with his friend and father-in-law, Sir William Dick of Braid, one of the pioneers in opening up trade between Leith and the Baltic ports. Commercial intercourse between Scotland and the Hanse towns in the Baltic had been established long before his day. But his enterprise and his diplomatic talents were exercised profitably, both for himself and for his country, in that development of trade relations with the Continent which marked the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth century. We find, from the records of the Convention of Burghs, that a qualified person being required for obtaining from King James a letter of recommendation to the King of France and his Council in the matter of ratifying the ancient league between the countries, and 'keipping of thair customes in the awld estaitt vnhechtet and rayset,' the burghs in March 1612 made choice of 'William Nesbet, merchant burges of Edinburgh,' to be their 'doer' and commissioner, as they had chosen his father the Provost before him for a like errand, his expenses to the amount of a thousand franks, at the exchange of twenty shillings Scots per frank, to be reimbursed by an impost on goods entering Scotland from Normandy.

At the same time he was directed to lay before James a proposal adopted after 'lang resoning and mature deliberatioun' at the previous Convention, to remove 'the Staipill of the Scotis natione' from Campvere to Middelburg, which henceforth should become the place for landing, weighing, and distributing goods entering the Low Countries from Scotland, and report to Edinburgh and other burghs. The will and pleasure of His Majesty being otherwise, the Convention, meeting in the following July with James Nisbet in the chair, consented to the Staple remaining at Campvere, but on certain conditions, in the drawing of which the Nisbets had no doubt a hand. These included, in addition to maintenance of the former privileges by which the Scottish community lived under their own Conservator and their own laws, the deepening of the approaches and the improvement of the facilities for trade at Campvere, and, as a final item, that the 'nation' should have liberty to hunt with dogs, and shoot with 'hakbuts, croce bowis and hand bowis ony maner of fowlis or foure futtet wyld beists' within the territory without trouble or impediment.¹ One can imagine William Nisbet, on these missions to London and the Continent, making use of the services and the interest at Court of the old friend of the family, George Heriot.

In 1609 William Nisbet bought the Barony of the Dean, including 'the town, waulking-mylne and mure, called the hieland mure,' from John, Lord Lindsay of the Byres; and in the following year he purchased from John Napier of Merchiston, for 1700 marks, and annexed to his property, the 'Putrie' or Poultry Lands of Dean, which carried with them the hereditary office of 'Poulterer to the King.' In 1621 he added 'six oxengates of land running runrig through the town and lands of Dean,' which were bought from John Johnston; and the estate was then described as 'the lands of Dean, with the corn and waulkmills, commonly called Bells mills, the piece of ground called highland muir, belonging in commonty to the heritors

¹ *Records of the Convention of Royal Burghs*, vol. ii. pp. 368-9.

of Ravelston and Dean, and the lands called Poultry Lands lying next to and below the village of Dean.' This latter ground—the 'Pultrie'—seems, from the description, to have occupied the slope on the left bank of the Water of Leith from the site of the old village of Dean—introduced in R. L. Stevenson's story of *Catriona*—to the Deanhaugh at Stockbridge, where it adjoined the lands of Inverleith; and it subsequently became the most valuable part of the Dean property. Craigleith, originally part of the Dean, was disposed of to the Rocheids of Inverleith in 1646.

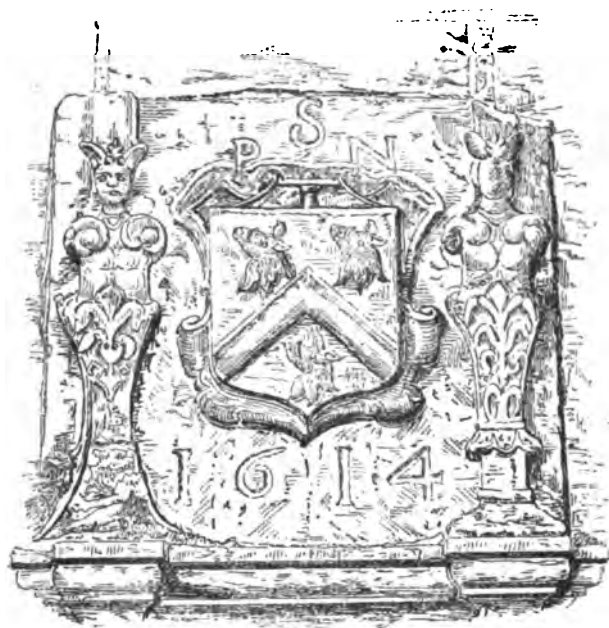


Fig. 4.

The date at which the original Dean House was built does not appear to be accurately ascertained. Wilson speaks of it, in his *Memorials*, as one of 'those fine old aristocratic dwellings that once abounded in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, but which are now rapidly disappearing,' and as 'a monument of the

Nisbets of the Dean, a proud race now extinct.' His statement that the mansion-house 'had on a sculptured stone over the east doorway the date 1614, but other parts of the building bore evident traces of an earlier date'¹ has been repeated by later writers. The stone referred to is apparently that inscribed with the Nisbet arms and with the initials—'S. P. N.'—of the builder's brother, Sir Patrick Nisbet, a Senator of the College of Justice under the title of Lord Eastbank. It bears the year 1614; and the shield is flanked by classical figures (Fig. 4).

It is not likely that any part of the Dean mansion was much older than this date, which is also the year carved on a stone,



Fig. 5.

bearing the initials of the first owner himself—'W. N.'—along with the chevron and three boars' heads, now encased in a half demolished structure of substantial ashlar interposing between Arbuckle's mill and mill-lade at Coltbridge, on what was formerly Dean lands (Fig. 5).

In the drawing by R. Gibb of the Dean House made in 1832, the view is much obscured by interposing walls and

¹ Wilson's *Memorials of Old Edinburgh*, vol. ii. p. 154.

trees, and is not particularly impressive. The cottage in the foreground indicates the close neighbourhood of the Dean village, which was itself swept away in 1881. It stood not far within what is now the east gate of the Dean Cemetery, and adjacent to the high river-bank. The chief approach was from the north, through a gateway, and an avenue of fine old beeches, the last of which have not long disappeared. Mr. Black, the custodian of the cemetery, informs me that the circular plot, facing the principal public gate, is placed immediately in front of the site of the east doorway, and has remained practically unaltered in shape. Two old yew trees may ante-date the house itself. Wilson says that the large gallery had an arched ceiling painted in the same style as one that formerly existed in the building known as the Guise Palace, in Blyth's Close, from which parts of it had evidently been copied. 'The subjects were chiefly sacred, and though rudely executed in distemper, had a bold and pleasing effect.' One of the panels, afterwards in the possession of the late C. Kirkpatrick Sharpe, bore the date 1627, and has found a place in the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries. A number of the carved stones of the original gateway appear to be built into the north wall of the cemetery.

It is probable that repeated additions were made to the structure and ornaments of Dean House during the lifetime of its first owner. He was three times in office as Lord Provost of his native town—from January to October 1616, from September 1617 to October 1619, and from October 1622 to September 1623. In 1637 he was made Sheriff Principal of Edinburgh. He was knighted in 1617 on the occasion of King James's visit, after an absence of fourteen years, to his ancient capital. The King was received by the magistrates, in their official robes, at the West Port, and the Town Clerk read an address in praise and welcome of a Monarch 'in heart as upright as David, wise as Solomon, and Godlie as Josias,' to whose royal ears adulation was sweet. The 'true Phoenix, the bright star of the northern firmament,' was assured that by his

removal from their hemisphere the magisterial souls had been darkened ; ' deep sorrow possessed our hearts, the very hills and groves, accustomed before to be refreshed with the dew of your Majesty's presence, not putting on their wonted apparel, but with pale looks representing their misery for the departure of their Royal King.' These compliments were not presented with empty hands, for the city at a banquet made humble offering to the King of ' ten thousand marks in double golden angels,' in a basin of silver-gilt. At the gate of the Inner Court of Holyrood, the Royal Phoenix was presented with a copy of ' curious and learned verses in Greek and Latin ' containing the congratulations of Edinburgh University, and a speech made in name of the University by Mr. Patrick Nisbet, the Provost's younger brother. It must have been a great day at the Dean when the Provost returned, after service in St. Giles', Sir William Nisbet. He made use of his house to record his municipal as well as his family honours. There are three stones in the Dean Cemetery that contain his initials and armorial bearings. On one of these his arms are impaled with



Fig. 6.

those of his first wife, Jonet Williamson—a saltire, between a boar's head erased in chief, and three mullets in flank and base—with the letters ' S. W. N. ' and ' D. J. W. ' (Fig. 6).

Sir William Nisbet was married to this lady before 1596. Her descent has not been ascertained; but the arms are

identical with those recorded for the family of Williamson of Balgray, as borne by David Williamson, Lord Balgray, whose portrait is in the Parliament House. She may have been related to David Williamson who sat in the Council along with Henry and William Nisbet, and who was Dean of Guild in 1598 and 1599. She is said to have died before 1622, although confirmation of her estate was not obtained until 1624. The owner of the Dean could not have married his second wife, Katherine Dick, daughter of Sir William Dick of Braid, long before the latter year. The Dick arms—a fess between two mullets in chief and a crescent in base—appear impaled with those of her husband on two fine stones preserved at the Dean, which bear also the initials of the spouses, 'S. W. N.' and 'D. K. D.'

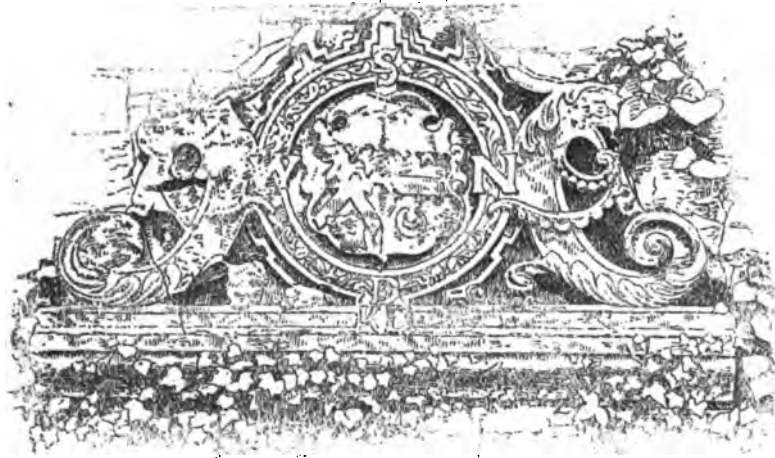


Fig. 7.

The first of these, and probably the older in date, is mutilated (Fig. 7). But the letters and the shield of arms, enclosed by a ribbon, can be readily made out. The other stone is more elaborately carved and is in excellent preservation. The style is strongly reminiscent of the sculptured decorations on 'Heriot's

Wark'; it belongs to about the same date, and may possibly be from the same hand (Fig. 8). A triple-towered castle,



Fig. 8.

emblematic of Edinburgh, is upheld by a hand, by way of crest, and surmounting a helmet and mantling; and the scroll surrounding the arms bears the words 'Hic mihi partus Honos,'—'This Honour is obtained for me'—which may also be thought to contain an allusion to Sir William's municipal dignity. The summit of the stone bears a fracture, and it may have been completed by the finial with four sides, each bearing the Castle and having a boar's head at the bottom, which now lies in the rockery (Fig. 9). It may be noted that for the first and only time in the stones of the Dean group the Nisbet chevron bears three cinquefoils, a 'difference' perpetuated on the coat of the Nisbet Hamiltons of Dirleton.

A third initialled stone, bearing the arms of Sir William impaled with those of his second wife, is to be found in the wall of the old structure at Coltbridge, alongside of the stone, with the date 1614,



Fig. 9.

already described and figured. It appears to have formed a dormer or tympanum, and in addition to helm and mantling, both in good preservation, the shield is surmounted by the crest of the Nisbets—a boar—which does not occur on any of the stones at the Dean, although, as will be found, it appears on a large piece of mural sculpture at Bells Mills and over the family vault at St. Cuthbert's (Fig. 10).



Fig. 10.

The presence of the two Coltbridge stones, on a site so far removed from the Dean House, and on ground which ceased to be Dean property long before the demolition of the family mansion, is not a little puzzling. Notwithstanding the low position, close to the stream, the building has more the appearance of a dwelling-house than of a mill; on the side next the river a moulded doorway has been built up, and embedded

in the wall, within a few feet of the lade, is what seems to be half of a quatrefoil window of ecclesiastical aspect.

Katherine Dick died in May 1630, and confirmation of her estate was obtained in September of the following year, when three children of the marriage are mentioned, William, Jonet, and Elizabeth, the last born July 1626. She must have been considerably younger than her husband, who was, indeed, eleven years older than her father, his friend and contemporary Dick of Braid, that merchant of unstable fortunes who, once reputed the wealthiest in Scotland, and credited by popular superstition with possession of the secret of transmuting baser metals into gold, died miserably in a poor lodging in Westminster. Dick's father, an Orkney man, is said to have won favour at Court while accompanying James VI. on his voyage from Denmark. The son farmed the customs and excise dues on tobacco, wine, and strong waters for the Kingdom, and was tacksman under the Crown of the islands of Orkney and Shetland. He did much to develop the fishings round the Scottish coasts, and engaged in a profitable trade with the Baltic and the Mediterranean,—we find him shipping herring and salmon from Yarmouth to Leghorn and Venice. When, in 1631, sasine of Saint Giles' Grange was given to him and to his wife (Elizabeth, daughter of John Morrison of Preston-grange and Saughton Hall, the name-father of Morrison's-haven) among the witnesses were his son-in-law Sir William Nisbet of Deane, knight, and Master Ludowick Stewart, advocate. At the date of Nisbet's death, in 1639, Dick was Provost of Edinburgh, which he also represented in Parliament. In 1641 he was knighted, and it is alleged, although no proof is forthcoming beyond the fact that a great-grandson was served heir to the honour, that he was made a Baronet of Nova Scotia. At this time he is reported to have been worth £200,000 sterling;—in Scots he was a 'multi-millionaire.' He advanced vast sums for the cause of the King and of the Covenant; the father of 'Douce Davie Deans' saw the sacks of dollars 'toomed,

as if they had been as muckle sclate stanes, out o' Provost Dick's window intill the carts that carried them to the army at Dunse Law; and if ye winna believe his testimony, there is the window itsell still standing in the Luckenbooths—at the airn staneshells, five doors abune Advocates' Close.'

It has been credibly suggested that Ben Jonson was entertained by Provost Nisbet at the Dean House on the occasion of his visit to Edinburgh in 1619, and the compliments he sends through his friend Drummond of Hawthornden to 'the Nisbets' are supposed to be directed to Sir William and his family. This was in the time of Dame Jonet; Dame Katherine did not live long enough to see the great pageant on the entry of Charles I. to the Scottish capital in 1631. She is probably the elder girl in the portrait-group at the Grange of Sir William Dick surrounded by his family. Her sister married Sir John Nicolson of Lasswade, and four of her brothers were the progenitors of the families of Dick of Fracafeld, Dick of Craighouse, Dick Lauder of Grange, and Dick Cunyngham of Prestonfield respectively.

Sir William Nisbet's portrait is at Archerfield. It represents him 'in a black velvet dress, with gold belt and clasps, the skull-cap ornamented with white lace, which also adorns the collar of his habit. A large and expressive eye, a prominent nose and a fine mouth, with grey eyebrows, pointed beard and moustaches, go to the formation of a countenance which does not convey to the spectator the keen determination so conspicuous in Provost Henry Nisbet's portrait. The arms in the picture'—continues Mr. Ross, in Nisbet's *Heraldic Plates*—'are identical with those on the stone in the Dean Cemetery (Fig. 8), viz. argent, on a chevron gules between three boars' heads erased sable three cinquefoils of the field: crest, a hand sinister, holding the Castle of Edinburgh: motto, Hic mihi partus Honos.'

His son William was served heir in 1639, and married Margaret Murray, daughter of John Murray of Polmaise, who survived him, and afterwards became the wife of Alexander Persone of Balmadies. The second William Nisbet of the Dean

died in October 1655. The minutes of the kirk-session of St. Cuthbert's, in which parish the lands lay, show that in March 1645, the year of the pest, the owner of Dean 'desired the heritors and sessioners to grant him ane place to burie his deid, to the effect that he might build the same, seeing his predecessors had no buriell-place within the churchyard'—the old Nisbet burial-ground was, as has been seen, in Greyfriars. His demand was 'thocht reasonable,' and the session 'grantit him ane place at the north church door eistward, five elnes of lenth, and thrie elnes of bredth.' Here, no doubt, he was laid when his son Alexander succeeded him ten years later. Alexander it was who exchanged with Sir Patrick Nisbet, his second cousin, the lands of Dean for those of Craigentinnie and Restalrig. He married Katherine, daughter of Walter Porterfield of Comiston, of a family whose name frequently occurs in the city records, and with her consent, in 1683, he re-conveyed four of the twelve oxengates of the Restalrig property to Henry Nisbet, younger of the Dean, in whose hands they did not remain long. For in 1693 he sold them to Andrew Massie, a Regent of Edinburgh College, whose daughter Ann, in 1735, disposed of them to 'William Miller, younger, seed merchant, near the Abbey of Holyrood House.' The sale of 1683 may have been dictated by the public and private difficulties which Alexander Nisbet had in plenty. He was a man of fiery temper and high courage, and John Erskine of Carnock relates in his *Journal* how, having been placed on the assize for the trial of Sir Hugh Campbell of Cesnock in 1684 for conventicle-holding, 'Craigentinnie' boldly protested against the brow-beating of the witnesses by the Lord Advocate, the 'Bluidy Mackenyie,' for which he had to answer before the Secret Council.¹ Having gone abroad to fight a duel with Macdougall of Mackerston, he was imprisoned in the Tolbooth with the other parties in the affair, but was released on bond, and was slain in the battle of Tournay in 1696.

¹ *Erskine of Carnock's Journal*, p. 61 (Scottish History Society).

To follow briefly and to the end the connection of this branch of the Nisbet family with the Craigentinnie lands, it may be mentioned that Alexander Nisbet's granddaughter, Jean, Lady Banff, was succeeded in the possession of the remaining eight oxengates by her nephew, John Scott Nisbet, the son of another daughter of William Nisbet, who had married Sir John Scott of Ancrum. He died in 1764, the last Nisbet of Craigentinnie, and the lands were acquired by William Miller, the old Quaker seedsman of the South Back of Canongate; and in the hands of his descendants, the Christie Millers, they still remain. The gaunt and plain old four-story mansion of Craigentinnie House, reared by the Nisbets, was furnished with turrets and corbelling, after the fashion of a French château or Jacobean castle, at the close of the eighteenth century. It is garnished without with many ornaments of stone, but none of them can lay probable claim to belong to the period of Nisbet occupancy, unless it be the weatherworn shield over the old moulded entrance door—it is no longer decipherable.

To the period of the close of the sixteenth or beginning of the seventeenth century should also probably be assigned two inscriptions, in black-letter, painted above the chimney-piece on the wall of a chamber, now a bedroom, in the second story of the earliest part of the house, to which access is had through the old doorway and up a spiral stone stair. They were revealed on taking down the modern plaster-work, and have been renewed in black letters on a white ground. They read—

‘Remember how I gave the wracht
Of feltchie, erth and daye,
And how from heill I have the brocht
Quhst thou was damd for ey.’

and

‘Thou had all thou wald
Of reachis and of gold
If zow have nocht, the lord in thoct

That for thy sins was sauld
All is in waine I mak zow plain
As Paull the treuth has tauld.'

The first couplet reads like nonsense in the restored text; a somewhat obvious emendation would make the lines run—

'Remember how I have thé wrocht
Of filthie erth and claye.'

In this cheerful fireside sentiment, which is in the style and taste of the panels in the barrel-vaulted room in the 'Palace' at Culross, and of other interior decorations of the period, one may possibly see a reflection of the uncompromising Calvinistic training of Marion Arnot, the wife of the first Nisbet of Craigen-tinnie.

The descendants of Sir William of the Dean were, however, by no means left landless. William Nisbet, who succeeded to Craigen-tinnie in 1696, when his father fell in the French wars, had the good fortune to marry, as his first wife, a niece of the third wife of Sir John Nisbet of Dirleton, and to this fact, as much perhaps as his cousinship, he owed it that he was nominated heir of entail to the Dirleton estates, under a deed which the famous Lord Advocate had executed in 1687. It has already been mentioned that Sir John was a son of Sir Patrick Nisbet, Lord Eastbank, the third of the sons of Provost Henry Nisbet, and that a shield with his initials and arms and the date 1614 is among the Dean Stones. It must have been placed there at a later date than that borne on the stone; for Sir Patrick—who like others of his kin was a strong supporter of the policy of the Stuarts in Church and State—was not knighted until 1638. Two years before, in 1636, on the death of Lord Newhall, he had been made a Lord of Session, but his seat was taken from him when the political wind shifted, and was conferred in November 1641 upon Johnston of Warriston. He died in 1648, leaving, by his wife, a daughter of John Arthur of

Newtown-Arthur, advocate, besides his eldest son Henry, who did not long survive him, and Sir John, who is designed in the will 'Commissary of Edinburgh,' two daughters, one of whom, Katherine, marrying Walter Riddell of Minto, became the mother of the wife of Sir Robert Lawrie of Maxwelltown and the grandmother of 'Bonnie Annie Lawrie.' In the marriage-contract of Lord Eastbank's other daughter, Jonet, married to Patrick Blackburn, he earnestly recommends his 'twa sones, and also my dearest friend, Sir Lues Stewart, and also my much beloved and honoured nephews,' Henry Nisbet (of Craigentinnie) and William Nisbet (of Dean) to see that the conditions are fulfilled.

His more distinguished son, Sir John Nisbet, was born in 1610, and became advocate in 1633, and Sheriff-depute of Edinburgh in 1639. He purchased the estate of Dirleton—'the pleasantest dwelling-place in Scotland,' said Logan of Restalrig, who is alleged to have been bribed with it to take a share in the Gowrie Conspiracy—in 1663. After its forfeiture by the Gowrie family, it had belonged and given titles to Erskines and Maxwells. The town residence of the Dirleton branch of the Nisbets was the house with the arched understory and corbelled turret at the head of Reid's Close in the Canongate. John Nisbet was Lord Advocate and a Judge of Session in the troublous years 1664-7, and was the last who combined these offices. His name is of constant occurrence in the judicial records of the time, and his character has been severely handled by some contemporary writers and later historians. He has been described as 'a tool of the Bishops'; 'too corrupt even for the Restoration period,' is one harsh recent judgment. (*Erskine's Journal*.) There can be no question of his ability and his erudition. 'A man of great learning, both in law and in many other things, chiefly in Greek,' writes Gilbert Burnet, whose testimony, that he was 'a person of great integrity, who always stood firm to the law,' must always be taken into account as that of one who had

good opportunities of forming an opinion. On points of law 'Dirleton's Doubts,' it was said, were worth more than other men's certainties. 'Discite justiciam' was the motto he adopted, along with the crest of a hand holding a balance, in his arms (the Nisbet coat with the Dirleton difference), matriculated in 1672. His portrait, at Archerfield, shows him in his judge's robes—a man of 'noble and intellectual countenance, and keen and searching eye.' He was three times married, first to a daughter of Monypenny of Pitmilny, second to Helen Hay, and third to Jean, daughter of Alexander Morrison of Prestongrange, a Lord of Session. Only by his second wife was there issue, and his only child, Jean, married, in 1673, Sir William Scott, younger of Harden, head of the house from which Walter Scott descended.

Sir John Nisbet of Dirleton died in 1687, after having in the same year executed a deed of entail, by which, as we have seen, the estate passed to his nephew-in-law and distant cousin—William Nisbet of Craigentinnie, great-grandson of his uncle, Sir William of the Dean—a succession which gave rise to prolonged lawsuits between him and the heir of line, Lady Scott. William Nisbet, the heir of entail, sat in Parliament after the Union as representative of Midlothian. He was married a second time, to Jean Bennett, and by his two wives was the father of a numerous family. His daughter Wilhelmina, who married Lord Leven and Melville, and who was one of the first dwellers in Nicolson Street, is said to have been his nineteenth child. His son William, by his first wife, was served heir in 1725, and married Christian, daughter of Sir William Bennett of Grubbet—the 'Sir William Worthy' of *The Gentle Shepherd*. Their son William, Grand-Master of the Freemasons of Scotland, married Mary, the heiress of Alexander Hamilton of Pencaitland and Dechmont, heiress of entail to James, fifth Lord Belhaven, and owner of Biel. Dirleton and Biel descended, through their eldest son, William Nisbet Hamilton, to their granddaughter Mary (Mrs.

Ferguson of Raith) whose daughter, also Mary, by her first marriage, to Thomas, seventh Earl of Elgin, became the wife of Robert Adam Dundas, a grandson of Lord President Dundas, who took the name of Christopher in addition to Nisbet Hamilton on succeeding to estates in Lincolnshire. His daughter, Mary Georgiana Constance Nisbet Hamilton Ogilvy, married to Henry Ogilvy, succeeded to the Pencaitland estates on the death, at a great age, of her cousin Mary, Lady Ruthven, granddaughter, through her mother, of William Hamilton Nisbet. Mrs. Nisbet Hamilton Ogilvy is now the repository of the honours, while her house of Archerfield holds some of the chief relics of the Nisbets of Dirleton, Craigentinnie, and the Dean.

Harking back to the date—1672—when, in the person of Sir Patrick, grandson of James, the Craigentinnie branch of the Nisbets became owners of the Dean, we are brought to what may be termed the second group of the sculptured stones that commemorate the family. Unless the phrase, 'for certain large sums of money,' in part consideration of which Sir Patrick Nisbet is stated to have made the exchange, be a mere legal formula, Craigentinnie may be supposed to have been at the time the more valuable estate of the two. The Craigentinnie family had a pew in the Tron Kirk, and it is entered in the name of 'Sir Hary Nesbit,' Sir Patrick's father, in 1650, and seems to have been still in possession of their descendants forty or fifty years later.¹ But they were now parishioners of St. Cuthbert's, and Sir Patrick of the Dean has come down to us in history chiefly in connection with a long dispute he had with the West Kirk heritors. In his *Buik of the West Kirk*, Mr. Lorimer says that 'a volume by no means small' could be filled with a history of the relations between the members of the family of the Dean and the Kirk-session, of 'the perpetual warfare, on one subject or another, waged with Sir Patrick, the father; the alternate vainglory and shabbiness of Henry, the eldest son; the re-

¹ Butler's *The Tron Kirk of Edinburgh*, p. 150.

peated tribulations of that sad scapegrace, Patrick junior, his younger brother.' In the pages of Wodrow and Sime Sir Patrick appears as a stout champion of that much-married minister of St. Cuthbert's, the Rev. David Williamson—known to the profane as 'Dainty Davie'—and as a sufferer, if not a martyr, in the cause of Presbyterianism in its quarrel with Prelacy. But the records present him in another and less flattering light.

The case of 'Sir Patrick and Harie Nisbet and ye West Kirk Poore' dragged its way through the Courts for ten years, and, so far as the parish history is concerned, was 'the most interesting episode of the period' immediately preceding and following the Revolution. It arose out of the perplexed affairs of Alexander Shed, maltster in the Water of Leith, who for seven years previous to 1680 had been entrusted, as treasurer, with the charge of the funds of the poor. During that period he had rendered no account of his intromissions, and a new treasurer, Mr. James Eleis, of Stenhopemills, having been appointed, against the strenuous opposition of the Laird of the Dean and of the minister, Mr. Gordon, it was found that he had lent to Nisbet from the poor stock the sum of 2000 merks Scots. Shed was still more deeply indebted to Sir Patrick Nisbet, to whom he owed £4600 Scots; and by a dubious transaction he granted his powerful neighbour a quittance of the debt to the poor-box, and at the same time assigned a heritable bond over his property at Water of Leith to Sir Patrick's son Henry for the balance of his own debt. The new treasurer raised actions, first for reduction of the discharge, and secondly, to prove that the Kirk-session's claim against Shed had preference over the Nisbet bond. The first case was promptly decided in favour of 'the Poor,' whose counsel on the occasion was the Lord Advocate, Sir James Dalrymple, afterwards the first Lord Stair. The second, out of which arose counter accusations of fraud and perjury, was not so easily disposed of. The irate Baronet stopped Eleis in the public highway

and threatened to 'nail his lugs and those of his witnesses to the Trone,' an outbreak for which he was summoned to appear before the Kirk-session. The Treasurer's accounts of the period show that the precaution was taken to 'water the peats' of the judges hearing the case, by payments of £2, 18s. to the servant of Sir David Falconer, afterwards Lord Newton and Lord President of the Court, and of £1, 9s. to the son of Sir John Foulis of Ravelston. But notwithstanding, the decision was more favourable to Sir Patrick than might have been expected; he was found to be right in point of law, but 'indiscreet' in the means employed to get himself preferred to the Poor, and it was ordained that he should come in equally with them as creditors on Shed's estate. Dissatisfied with this, Sir Patrick raised an action in 1687 for reduction of the claims of the Poor, and he would seem to have ultimately had his way, for henceforth Shed's lands at Water of Leith remained part of the Dean property, and were rated forty years afterwards at £110.

In the same year, 1687, Sir Patrick left the West Kirk congregation, and joined that which Williamson had formed, under the Indulgence of King James, 'at the meeting-place near the Dean,' which appears to have been the Tolbooth of the Baxters Incorporation, still standing in Water of Leith. The vicinity of Dean House had been a refuge of the 'intercommuned' long before this date; and we hear of a gathering of the sympathisers with the 'Westland Whigs' taking place in the secluded haugh above Bells Mills on the eve of Rullion Green, and of the Blue Banner being raised at the 'Covenanter's Thorn,' which continues to bud in one of the gardens of Belford Terrace. Mr. Cumberland Hill relates a traditionary story told by some of the old inhabitants of the Water of Leith, of an adventure of 'Dainty Davie's' in which Sir Patrick Nisbet and his family took part:—'During the time he was persecuted, Mr. Williamson, being hotly and closely pursued, took refuge in the Dean House. Sir Patrick concealed him in the bedchamber where

his daughters were in bed. After searching the house, Sir Patrick opened the bedroom door; but Mr. Williamson's pursuers, when they perceived the ladies, gallantly drew back, declining to search the room, believing he could not be concealed there.'¹

Mushet, the 'reider' of the West Kirk, an old enemy of Williamson's, accused Sir Patrick of speaking slightly of Acts of Parliament, alleging, among other things, that the Presbyterians 'had as many Johnstons as the Prelates had Jardines'; and in July 1688 he was fined by the Court £5000 Scots for his contumacy. About the same time, a member of the congregation was fined for allowing him and another parishioner to remain drinking in his premises during the hours of divine service. The Revolution, which restored Williamson to his charge, did not bring surcease of trouble to the Laird of the Dean, now a man of advanced age. Nemesis was waiting for him in the comfortable form of Lucky Byers, the wife of the landlord of the hostelry near the old West Kirk. One afternoon in August 1695, he entered the changehouse of William Byers for refreshments. The landlady and Sir Patrick 'grew gracious'; they began talking of old times and the Laird of Dean stole 'two kisses for auld lang syne,' a liberty which Mrs. Byers told him would cost him 'holland to make her toys (caps) with.' Unhappily there were ears and eyes glued to the keyhole during this tender colloquy. Sir Patrick was cited to appear before the session to answer for his indiscretion. He came up once, behaved stormily, and withdrew. The case was adjourned from meeting to meeting, and at length referred to the Presbytery, and we hear no more of it. It is a curious coincidence that, in May 1696, Sir Patrick Nisbet made offer to the session of 2000 merks of debt due by the late Shed to the poor-box, and also to hand over the titles of Shed's lands. After a reference to Sir John Fowlis and Mr. James Lewis of Merchiston, it was determined that he should pay 2500 merks in full satis-

¹ Cumberland Hill's *Reminiscences of Stockbridge*, p. 35.

faction. In spite of all that had happened we find him on the Committee for clearing the Treasurer's accounts in 1708.

He married Agnes Broun, daughter of James Broun of Stevenson, East Lothian, a scion of the ancient family of Coalston, the possessors of the magic 'pear.' This lady is said to have died at the age of a hundred, surviving long into the eighteenth century. Her arms, a chevron between three fleurs-de-lys, accompanied by the letters 'D. A. B.,' are on a shield at the Dean (Fig. 11).

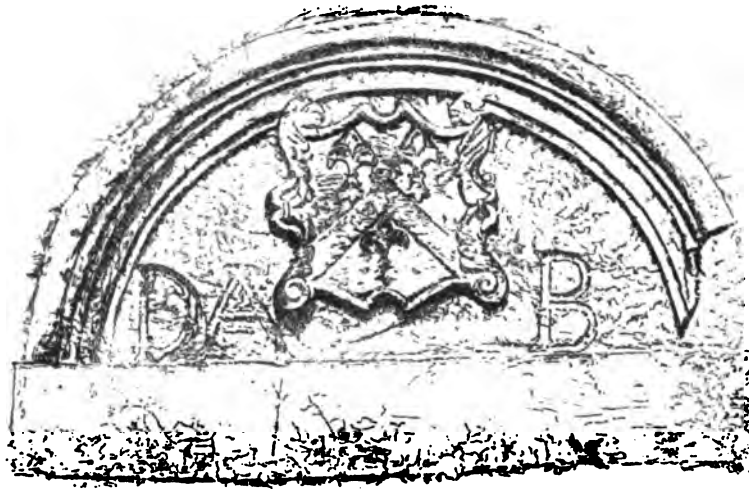


Fig. 11.

Sir Patrick himself appears to have adopted as his crest 'an eagle, with wings displayed, proper, with the motto *Non obest virtuti Sors.*' His eldest son David, 'the fiar of Dean,' predeceased him, and he was succeeded by his second son Henry, who long before his father's death took a share in managing the property. Henry married, in 1681, Christian Riddell, daughter of Sir John Riddell of that Ilk, and secondly Margaret Sinclair. He is said to have built a second mansion-house on the estate, called the Western Place of Dean. His

monogram and that of his second wife appear to be inscribed on a dormer stone now in the rockery (Fig. 12).



Fig. 12.

Like his father, Henry Nisbet had the care of the money of the Kirk committed to his hands, for a season. It was, says Mr. Lorimer, like giving the charge of the flock to 'the wolf and the wolf's cub.' During his year of office as Treasurer Henry lent out £666—the Number of the Beast—half of which sum, or 500 merks, he borrowed himself, and had to pay on the debt 9 per cent. interest. After the Revolution we find him protesting along with his father, at a public meeting, that the Nisbets of the Dean were entitled to take precedence of all other heritors. In November 1691 he applied to the Kirk-session for confirmation of the grant of the vault beside the north door of the West Kirk, which had been made wellnigh half a century before to his predecessor, William Nisbet. He also asked for leave to open a quarry in the churchyard for its construction, and this he received on condition of paying a gratuity to the poor. The story of how Henry Nisbet built his own sepulchre and fulfilled his promises is a sad revelation of 'a mean man's meanness,' and a vain man's vanity. With

much difficulty he was induced to pay the gratuity of £39, 10s. Work being suspended on the tomb, he was brought to book for not filling up the quarry. In November 1692 he obtained the key of the church, in order to have the Nisbet arms carved in stone over the vault. But the masons remained unpaid; the rubbish was not even cleared away. The session had at length to discharge the claims themselves, and not until April 1700, after bringing an action for repayment of £60, were they able to recover the debt. In the previous April they had to

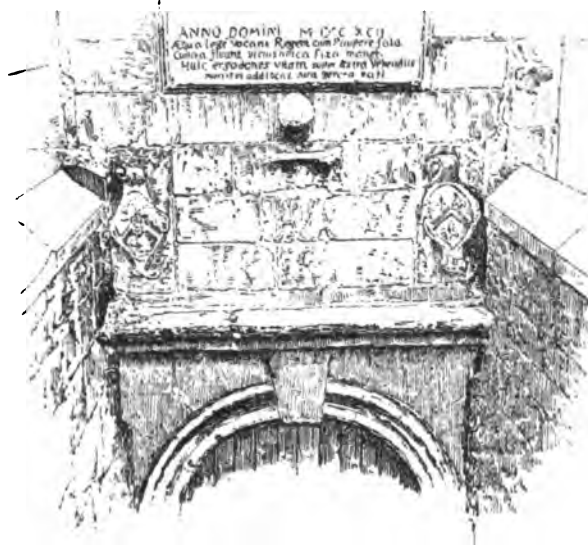


Fig. 13.

deal with Henry Nisbet for 'drinking during divine service,' along with his brother Patrick, junior—an old offender. All these years, it has been suggested, he had the gratification of looking across, on the Sundays when he attended divine service, from the Nisbet loft to his stately monument, bearing the high-sounding Latin inscription in which he exalted Fame above Riches and enjoined the study of Virtue—but for the carving of which he refused to pay. In spite of neglect—Mr.

Cumberland Hill, who remembered the old Dean House, remembered also when 'the old oak door of the vault was broken in and the stair that led down to the chamber of the dead was choked up with rank nettles and hemlock'—the Nisbet tomb is still in wonderful preservation (Fig. 13).

The Latin inscription (Fig. 14) above the door leading down to the vault reads:—

Henricus Nisbet, a Dean junior,
 Famam pluris quam opes,
 Virtutem pluris quam famam habens;
 Terrena despiciens, cœlestia spirans;
 Lethi memor; Anastasin expectans;
 Vivus ipse videnque;
 Hoc sibi suisq: Monumentum sepulchrale construxit,
 Anno Domini MDCXCII.

Æqua lege, vocant Regem cum paupere Fata;
 Cuncta fluunt, virtus unica fixa manet,
 Huic ergo dones vitam, super Astra Vehendus,
 Mortis et addiscas jura severa pati.

It has been thus translated by Maitland:—

Henry Nisbet of Dean, preferring Fame to Riches, despising earthly things and aspiring after Heavenly Enjoyments, being mindful of Death, and waiting for the Resurrection, in his own life, and at his own sight, caused build this sepulchral monument for him and his, in the year of Our Lord 1692.

Death equally does call the Rich and Poor—
 All things are fleeting; Virtue does endure;
 Then study Virtue as you would incline
 Maulgre sharp Death, in Heaven high to shine.

The irony of the inscription would have been complete if there had been added the text, carved in Latin on another seventeenth-century Nisbet monument, that of the Reverend Gavin Nisbet at Liberton—possibly a kinsman—'He that giveth to the Poor lendeth to the Lord.' Below the words, and over the

moulded doorway of the West Kirk vault are the initials of the builder of the tomb, with the emblems of mortality—a skull and cross-bones. On scrolled panels on either side are



Fig. 14.

his arms and those of his first wife, Christian Riddell—the latter a chevron between three ears of rye, slipped and bladed. Built into the wall of the church above is Sir Henry's escutcheon, with shield, helm, mantling, crest and supporters, and with monograms of his own and his wife's initials and the date 1692 repeated (Fig. 15).

He had apparently discarded the spread-eagle crest of his father, and adopted the crest of the Nisbets of Nisbet—a boar—which along with the supporters, a wreathed savage and a greyhound, the Dean family, according to the bogus passage already quoted from the 1742 edition of Alexander Nisbet's *System*, had been 'in use for a long time by Allowance of Authority' to carry on their arms. Shield, crest, and supporters, although badly mutilated, are repeated on the fragment of

heraldic sculpture which is built into the walls of the present flour-mill at Bells Mills—from time immemorial an appurtenance of the Dean estate.

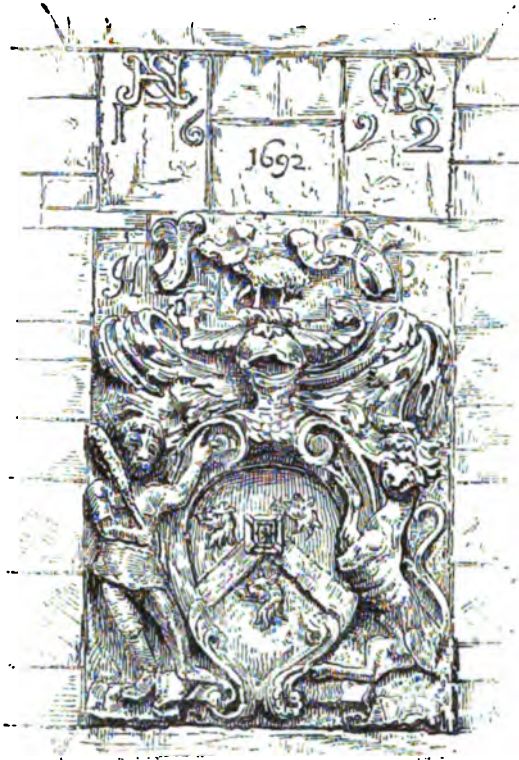


Fig. 15.

As in the monument in the West Kirk, also, the Nisbet shield at Bells Mills bears the chevron 'ensigned' with the saltire and lion rampant of the Baronets of Nova Scotia. It seems pretty safe therefore to assign it to about the same date, and to Sir Henry Nisbet, and also to assume that when these escutcheons were erected, the Dean family did not claim the right to drop the 'mark of cadency.' The date of the existing Bells Mills structure, according to the large panel bearing a

boldly carved sheaf of wheat on its front, is 1808. If the armorial stone, which is in three pieces, was built in at that time, its removal from its original site long antedates the



Fig. 16.

demolition of the Dean House. This, and its detached position, might favour the surmise that it may have formed an ornament of that 'Western Place of Dean' reared by Sir Henry, of which all other trace has disappeared (Fig. 16).

Sir John Nisbet of the Dean was served heir to Sir Henry in 1713, the year preceding the Hanoverian succession, and in 1717 he married Anna Morton or Myrtoun, daughter of Sir Andrew Myrtoun of Gogar and of Dame Jean Murray. Her tocher, it is stated, was 16,000 merks. The death of this lady is recorded to have taken place in 1769 in Gosford's Close, so that she survived her marriage more than fifty years, and the death of her husband (who died in 1730) nearly forty years. This is the Sir John Nisbet who has been reproached first for purchasing an addition to his family honours from his remote kinsman the Heraldist, and, more recently, for prompting the vitiation of the text of Nisbet's book. It is somewhat curious that his father-in-law, Sir Andrew Myrtoun was concerned in a dubious heraldic transaction of a somewhat similar character. On being created a baronet in 1701, he changed the coat which

he had registered in 1688, bearing three tortoises, to 'argent, a chevron, sable, between three roundels, gules,' with the self-complacent motto 'Virtutis Præmium.' Dissatisfied with this he entered into a bargain with his kinsman, Sir Robert Myrtoun or Myretoun, son of Sir Patrick Myrtoun of Cambo, 'by which the Myretouns of that Ilk (whose family had fallen upon evil times), for "certain weighty considerations and motives," renounced, in favour of Sir Andrew of Gogar, their ancient coat of arms. The arms thus conveyed are, argent, three roundels, gules.'¹ The Myrtoun of Gogar arms, as recorded in 1775, are, 'argent, a chevron sable between three pellets.' A



Fig. 17.

stone lying in the Dean rockery bears the initials 'A. M.' and the chevron, with three roundels—or pellets, or bezants, as the device has otherwise been described (Fig. 17).

There need not be hesitation in assigning it to Anna Myrtoun, Sir John Nisbet's wife. It appears to have formed the base of a roundheaded dormer, and Wilson and Grant have described it as surmounted by a sculptured group representing a judge seated in his throne of justice, holding in his hands the sword and scales, with a lamb in his arms which he is apparently defending from two lions, which ramp on either side. This curious piece of symbolism, or of sacred history, is no longer attached to its base or to be found at the Dean Cemetery. It has, however, been set into a place



Fig. 18.

¹ Mr. G. U. Selway's *A Midlothian Village*, p. 30.

above a window in an upper story of the Dean Bridge Tollhouse, looking towards Bells Brae, and can be conveniently studied from the level of Lynedoch Place (Fig. 18).

Mr. Black states that the two parts of this memorial of the old Dean House were taken down from the terrace-wall when a new monument was erected, and that while the late Mr. Stewart obtained leave to remove the pediment to the reconstructed tollhouse, the base, with its bold armorial carving, was thrown aside. The companion group in relief is still in position in the wall. It has been described as showing 'a man armed



Fig. 19.

with a thick pole with a hook at the end, by which he grasps it; a goat is running towards him, as if in the act of butting, while a bear seizes it by the waist with his teeth, and another is lying dead beyond' (Fig. 19).

The episode is obviously that of David rescuing his father's lamb from the lion and the bear. The two groups, as suggested by the rescue of the lamb, may be intended to illustrate parallel and symbolic passages in the life of the Shepherd King. The scales on one of the panels are somewhat reminiscent of the crest and motto adopted by Sir John of Dirleton. In the other sculptured group the form and attitude of the lion are strangely frog-like, and the treatment is rude and archaic. The stone below is blank, and, as in the other case, its appearance suggests that it is of later date than the pediment to which it had been fitted.

Sir John Nisbet of the Dean died in 1730, leaving his son Sir Henry a minor under the guardianship of his brother Alexander, a merchant who afterwards settled at Charleston, South Carolina. During Henry's minority, in 1734, his uncle sold the Nisbet Parks—part of the district now known as

Murrayfield—to Alexander Murray for £40,000 Scots. In 1739 the lands of Dean Park and Blinkbonny, forming part of the Dean property, were sold to Trinity College Hospital. Sir Henry's sister Ann, Mrs. Glassford, became the grandmother of John Riddell, the well-known antiquary and genealogist. Sir Henry died in 1746, and was succeeded by his uncle Alexander, who married Mallie, daughter of Sir John Rutherford, and who held the property and baronetcy for only six years. The son of Sir Alexander, another Sir Henry, served heir in 1754, died unmarried in 1762, and was followed by his brother, another Sir John, who was already settled in America, where he is said to have married a Creole lady, Claudine Favre, a question over which a long lawsuit arose. He was drowned at sea in 1776, and it was not until 1781 that his son, Sir John, made good his claim as the legitimate heir.

This last of the Nisbets of Dean married, in November 1797, Maria, daughter of William Alston, South Carolina; they separated in 1810, having no surviving issue. Sir John was owner of the Deanhall estate, in St. John's Parish, Berkeley County, S.C.; and in many ways his interests had become detached from the old family house on the banks of the Water of Leith. It passed into the hands of tenants. In 1784 it was occupied by Robert Burns's early patron, Sir Thomas Miller, Lord Barskimming, Lord Justice-Clerk.

One of the last, if not the very last, of the tenants of the House of Dean was Principal James David Forbes, the great alpinist and man of science, who came to live in it with his sisters in 1835, and occupied it until 1841, when they removed to Ainslie Place, the old mansion being then marked for destruction 'to make way for some large changes in the neighbourhood.' Here was another link with Sir Walter Scott. For Forbes was the youngest of the children of Scott's friend and successful rival in love, Sir William Forbes, and of the 'lady of the green mantle,' the great-great-grandson also of that old Lord Pitsligo who was 'out' in the '15 and the '45,

and who was the original of the kindly Baron of Bradwardine of whose ubiquitous family cognisance (and of the bears borne on the coat armorial of the Forbeses of Pitsligo) the multiplied boars' heads of the Nisbets must often have reminded the new tenant. He records his last visit to the place in December 1846, when the change had already come: 'The old Dean is now a green grass-plot. I looked in the other day—the gateway bell and all as it was. The avenue and holly hedges are there; but instead of terminating in the tall pile of masonry, it opens in a flat turf soon to be full of graves. Nothing more, surely, was wanted to point a moral.' His own grave was dug in it twenty-two years later—in January 1869—in a lovely spot chosen by himself the last time he was in Edinburgh, shadowed by the yew tree which overhung his window, when his home was in the old House of Dean.'

The New Town had begun to creep down the hill towards the river; and by and by the districts of the Dean and St. Bernard's were being feued off for suburban streets and residences.

Strict rules were laid down in the feu charters for the preservation of the amenity of the district as well as the rights of the superior. Noisome trades, such as tanning, tallow-chandling, soap-boiling, brewing and distilling were forbidden; at the same time the feuars were bound to take their ale or beer from any brewer within the Barony of Dean that Sir John Nisbet and his successors should nominate. Tenants of land that grew oats were obliged to have their grain ground at 'Dean's Mill, called Bell's Mill.'

Two years before Sir John's death in 1827, a portion of the Dean lands was feued to John Paton, builder. In 1837 the greater part of what remained was sold to John Learmonth, builder, Edinburgh, afterwards Lord Provost, who later, in 1842 and 1847, acquired what was left of the lands and barony. In 1845, as has already been said, the house was pulled down to make way for the Dean Cemetery. Nearly

twenty years before, the family of Nisbet of Dean, the eldest branch of the descendants of Provost Henry Nisbet, became, so far as is known, extinct in the male line.

It may be counted fortunate that so many relics of the old race and of the old house have been preserved. Some of them have no doubt perished or been dispersed—have become 'lost, stolen, or strayed'—of late years. Five of the stone water-spouts—three of them spirally twisted—are now projecting ornaments of the wall supporting the "Red Walk" at St. Bernard's Well.' Grant and others note 'an elaborately carved fragment of a fireplace,' bearing the dubious Latin motto 'Beet Otia Dator,' along with the monogram of Nisbet. Such a monogram, we have seen, is inscribed on one of the stones in the rockery. But it has been part of a window, not of a fireplace, and contains no motto.

Lodged alongside of these Nisbet memorials is an armorial stone which, although it does not belong originally to the Dean group, or even to the Edinburgh series of sculptured stones, may claim notice on account not only of its antiquity but of its age and history. It is inserted into the northern flank of the flight of steps descending from the east end of the terrace wall, which it faces at a distance of a few feet, in a position where, especially when screened by the ivy, it is hard to find and difficult to photograph. It was built into its present site at the instance of the late Mr. Alexander Ogilvy Spence (died 1895), whose tomb immediately adjoins it. I learn from the Curator (who is himself a native of Alves) that it formerly had a place in the wall of a granary, adjacent to the churchyard and overlooking the school playground at Alves, in Morayshire, and had evidently been a heraldic ornament of the old House of Kirkton (Fig. 20).

The arms—a rampant lion of archaic shape 'debruised' by a bend-sinister, bearing three buckles—are those of the Spence family who owned Kirkton and neighbouring properties during several generations. The initials 'J. S.' may possibly be those

of Hieronymus or Jerome Spence of Over Manbeen, who, in 1567, obtained from the Precentor of Moray, with the consent of the Bishop (the notorious Patrick Hepburn), a grant of the Kirklands and glebe of Alves, or of another Jerome Spence who got leave, in 1650, to build a 'dask' beside the Ernsyde tomb 'at the east end of the Quere.' But they are more likely



Fig. 20.

to stand for James Spence, James being the prevailing baptismal name of the lairds of Kirkton for two centuries. 'Sir James Spens, Vicar of Alves,' was a witness to the charter of 1567. In 1645 James Spence of Alves was taken out of his own house by a party of 'bloodie persones' and carried to Forres, where, as he alleged, he was forced to subscribe a paper presented to him by the Marquis of Huntly, for which and other acts of 'compliance he had to plead penitence to the session. In 1719, the Presbytery agreed to excamb half of the cornyard intervening between the east end of the manse and the west end of the House of Kirkton on the complaint of James Spens that his walls were being 'damnified'; and this heritor furnished for pious uses within the parish a velvet mortcloth, the fees

from which were employed in building the schoolhouse and in providing two silver communion cups. In the 'Description of Duffus' (circa 1720), in Macfarlane's *Geographical Collections*, it is mentioned that at the village of Standing Stone and Kirkhill there is 'an old cross which, as we have by credible tradition, was erected of old by the Spenses,' where began the service to their dead on being carried from The Coltfeld to their burial-place at Alves, half a mile distant. Under 'Alves' is described 'Kirkton's principall lodging,' close to the manse and having 'an old towr on the east end built by the Spenses' — 'James Spense, proprietor therof,' who also owns 'Earnside, a large mile from the Kirk,' having 'a strong old towr built by the Cumings.' At the date of Shaw's *History of Moray* (1775) Kirkton and Earnside belonged to 'Harry Spens D.D.'¹

The Water of Leith, flowing at the bottom of its deep 'Dean', seems always to have been a boundary of land and of milling-rights in this part of its course. It divided the Dean estate from the Coates, Drumsheuch, and other properties on its right bank, and the Nisbets exercised no authority over the group of tall dust-powdered buildings belonging to the Baxters' Incorporation of Edinburgh grouped beside the bridge and cauld of Water of Leith village upon which their trees looked down. The mills specially belonging to the Barony were, as has been seen, further up stream at Bells Mills, and the only piece of sculpture preserved there of earlier date than the nineteenth century has no reference to the milling craft. The like may be said of the Water of Leith buildings, some of them of considerable age, that are still standing on the left bank of the river, including the West Mills, the gable of which bears on one of its circular panels a large sheaf of wheat and the dates 1805 and 1806, with the names of its owners a hundred

¹ Cramond's *Church of Alves*; Macfarlane's *Geographical Collections*, vol i.; Shaw's *History of Moray*. Dr. Harry Spens is described, in a paper by Mr. J. D. Chayne on the 'Antiquities of Alves,' as 'the first translator of Plato's *Republic* and Moderator of the Church of Scotland in 1780.'

years ago. 'F. McLagan, A. Newton, H. Logan, W. Nimmo.' The buildings across the stream, although they have been rifled of many of the stones that attested their age, ownership, and purpose, still retain some of the evidences, in the shape of sculptured lintels and panels, of the antiquity, importance, and piety of the Bakers' Craft and the milling industry, as they existed two or three centuries ago in this suburb of Edinburgh.

Mills for the grinding of corn had probably occupied this site since the first half of the twelfth century, as we gather from a grant of profits from 'one of his mills at the Dean' made by David I. to the Canons of Holyrood. The Baxters of Edinburgh may have had their quarters here from the unknown date of their first incorporation. A Seal of Cause from the Town Council, dated 1522, sets forth that by their negligence in times of public trouble, the original charter had been lost. The new document mentions that like the other Crafts, the Baxters had their altar in St Giles', dedicated to their tutelary Saint, and their officiating priest, 'who was provided with victuals, by going about from house to house among the members.' They exercised much power and influence in the village, where, in addition to their mills, granaries, and malt-barns, the Craft had a Tolbooth, to which, as we learn from the Council Records, the Magistrates of the neighbouring city were wont to come to keep order and to hold head courts which 'the Taxmen of the Myles, the gristers, and the millers' were bidden to attend, and also paid visits to the 'damheads' to see whether they were kept in proper order and repair.

A pleasant picture is drawn, in Miss Alison Dunlop's *Anent Old Edinburgh*, of the Deacon and members of the Incorporation of Baxters marching out of the town by the Grassmarket and the West Port and descending to the village mills on their 'Gaudé day' in the spring weather of 1716, to be present at the 'Feeing of the Millers': 'Arrived at the mills, and having transacted their business, and settled generally and specially what moiety of wages should be in money and what in meal—

and we have the authority of an ancient miller that these engagements were better than under a single master, "the Incorporation being furthy and rowthy and no at a' scrimpit"—the Deacon and the Council adjoined to the hostelry of William Gordon to dine.' Then, having dined well on 'beef and veall and broth and breid' followed by 'pypes and tobacko,' and washed down by brandy and home-brewed ale, these worthy Baxters would set forth homeward by the Ferry Road. 'With their three-cornered hats just a thought awry, and their Sunday kirk-wigs just a trifle a-jee—a sma' thing to speak o' in thae days at that time o' the nicht; as Dame Jean Bethune would have said—they climb up the steep Bells Brae, now spanned by the Dean Bridge; they turn in the clear evening light, not to view the far Firth with its softened shores and sleeping islands, but each and all pause and look down for a parting glance on their property and prosperity, their great granary, with its legend "God Bless the Baxters of Edinburgh, vho Bult this House"—their people, with the certainty of work and the sureness of bread before them—then turning their faces comfortably citywards, past Meldrumsheuch, past the West Kirk, past the now darkening Castle rock—to quote the owerword of one of their own old songs—they gang toddlin' hame.

As round as a neep,
Or as lang as a leek,
They gang toddlin' hame.'

These old Baxters did not omit to mingle charity as well as conviviality with the business of milling. Sometimes their alms were bestowed in the teeth of prejudices in high places. Among their papers, as quoted by Mr. Cumberland Hill, is a petition addressed 'to the Deacon and remanent Members of the Ancient and Worthy Incorporation,' dated January 1707, bringing under their Christian consideration the sad condition of 'a great number of ministers of the Episcopal perswasion and their families, at present in great wants and necessities that

instantly crave the boweles and compassion of all good Christians,' through being outed from their charges through the restoration of Presbyterianism as the established faith of Scotland. This appeal was responded to, to the amount of 'twentie-four pounds Scots.' Eight or nine years later, immediately after the '15, there was another call upon the liberality of the Baxters, arising out of the fact that 'of Eightie nyne Gentlemen Prisoners that are goeing up from Scotland to Carlyle to be tryed' nearly sixty had 'neither money nor necessaries for their journey and subsistence.' The Incorporation sent five pounds sterling. Right of way was not free in those days by the road crossing the Water, as we learn from a receipt for 'ane rix dollor' paid by the Baxters in May 1709 to James Dalrymple in the Water of Leith for 'locking the turnpyke and sooping the Lumbs.' An item disbursed in the Union Year for 'morning drynk and four hours' to a couple of masons engaged for seven days 'at Lindsay's Mylne water wall' refers doubtless to work still in place on the water-side.

The oldest of the sculptured stones appertaining to the mills of the Baxters that is still extant is that which is built into the front of the Tollhouse facing the Dean Bridge, and therefore in a position to be easily seen and studied by the passers by (Fig. 21).

Its date is 1619, and it bears the insignia of the Bakers' Craft, whose 'armorial ensigns' are thus heraldically described: 'Azure, three Garbs (or wheat sheaves) Or, from the Chief waved, a Hand issuing holding a pair of balances extending to the base.' There are here two hands, one holding a sheaf and the other the scales, and in addition two crossed baker's 'peels,' and above a sun between two cherubs with outspread wings, and below the text: 'In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread. Gen. iii. verse 19.'

Next in antiquity is the panel with two crossed 'peels,' bearing loaves or cakes of the period, and the date 1643, built into the gable of Lindsay's Mill, at the foot of Bells Brae, and

overlooking the bridge and the 'damhead.' Beneath it is a window lintel, inscribed with the words, 'Blesit be God for al his Giftis' (Fig. 22).



Fig. 22.

Opposite, over the moulded doorway, now built up, of the old Tolbooth, are carved the words — some of them mutilated and barely decipherable, from the handling of recent vandalism — 'God bless the Baxters of Edinbrugh uho bult this Hous, 1675.' In a panel overhead, the scales and crossed peels are enclosed in a wreath, surmounted by a sheaf of corn and winged cherub.



Fig. 23.

heads, and accompanied by the legend: 'Gods Prouedenc is our Inheritens'¹ (Fig. 23).

A seventeenth-century date, 1675, is inscribed above another of the Tolbooth doors. A dated stone of the same period is built into the wall that skirts a portion of the old Queensferry Road that runs at a lower level than the present highway. And, to gather into a final sentence a few of the other carven memorials which the Baxters have left behind them in this secluded hollow, the emblematic sheaves are among the ornaments flanking an empty panel on one of the old granaries; and, together with a finial sundial, they crown the gables of several of the gaunt and grey buildings by the water-side.

JOHN GEDDIE.

¹ This familiar motto is carved on a fine lintel which I noted last autumn surmounting a doorway in Stromness, which bears the date 1716, and the arms of the Miller family impaled with the Nisbet chevron and boars' heads, the corresponding initials being 'W. M.' and 'M. N.' I am not aware of the Dean Nisbets having any offshoots in Orkney.

A handwritten signature in black ink, reading "Henry Nisbet" followed by a stylized flourish.

Signature of Provost Henry Nisbet, attached to the earliest contract (1578), establishing the Scottish Staple at Campvere, 'an important turning-point in the history of Scottish commerce with the Low Countries.' (From *The Scottish Staple at Veere*, by J. Davidson and A. Gray, published while these pages were going to press.)

THE BUILDINGS AT THE EAST END OF PRINCES STREET AND CORNER OF THE NORTH BRIDGE

A CHAPTER IN THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE NEW TOWN OF EDINBURGH

THE name 'Old Edinburgh' is still generally confined to the ancient part of the city lying along and on the sides of the ridge stretching from the Castle to Holyrood, and it is with this 'Old Town' that the Old Edinburgh Club is mainly concerned. The so-called 'New Town' of Edinburgh, however, has now attained quite a respectable age, its first beginnings carrying us back nearly a century and a half, and many of the facts and incidents connected with the early stages of its rise and progress already possess an almost antiquarian interest.

The series of incidents and transactions with which this paper is to deal had a very important bearing on the future of the city, for, had one of the principal questions involved been settled otherwise than it was, Princes Street would never have attained to the position which it holds as one of the finest streets in the world.

The group of buildings with whose history we are now mainly concerned occupied the present site of the North British Railway Station Hotel, and was entirely demolished in 1896. It extended from the Waverley Steps eastward to the corner of the North Bridge, and southward along the west side of the bridge to a point about forty yards beyond the present south front of the Hotel.

The early history of these buildings is intimately connected with that of another group in their immediate vicinity, namely,

the houses at the east end of the north side of Princes Street, now numbered 10 to 15, and specially with the remarkable privilege enjoyed by these buildings of entire exemption from burgh and parochial taxation.

An erroneous explanation of the origin of this exemption has long been current, namely, that it was a premium or bonus offered by the Magistrates to those who erected the first houses in Princes Street. Several authorities state that the Magistrates offered a premium of £20 to the individual who should take the first feu in the Extended Royalty, and that this premium was gained by a Mr. Young, who, in 1766, took a feu on which he erected a house believed to be still forming part of Thistle Court. This statement may probably be correct, but the origin of the exemption from taxes enjoyed by the Princes Street houses is of a totally different character.

For the current error on the subject, it is probable that Dr. Robert Chambers, usually accurate in such matters, must be held to be primarily responsible. In the *Traditions of Edinburgh*, published in 1825, describing the beginnings of the New Town, he says: 'The first edifice for which ground was feued is that beautiful one now remarkable for containing the premises of Messrs. Constable & Company, the celebrated booksellers. In consideration of this priority, the Magistrates decreed that it should for ever be exempted from the payment of burghal taxes. It was built by Mr. Neal, an eminent haberdasher.' And in the *Walks in Edinburgh*, also issued in 1825, describing the same house, he says: 'It was the first house designed and founded in the New Town of Edinburgh, and, as such, is exempted from all burghal taxation, that having been the *bonus* offered by the Magistrates to the enterprising individual who should first favour their great object by the purchase of a feu or piece of building ground. The person who did so was Mr. John Neale, etc.' In the second edition of the *Walks*, which appeared in 1829, this passage is cancelled, and the following substituted for it: 'The house possesses the.

enviable distinction over all the other houses within what is called the royalty of Edinburgh of paying no burghal taxes; and the reason is stated to have been the following: When the Magistrates of Edinburgh designed the North Bridge, the structure of which necessarily preceded that of the New Town, they found considerable difficulty in removing the workshop of a company of plumbers, which occupied part of the allotted ground. At length they prevailed upon the proprietor to quit, by promising that he should have any feu he chose in their projected New Town, whereon, if he built a house, it should be exempted from all public burdens. The house is further remarkable as being the first in the New Town of Edinburgh which contained a shop, as also the first which contained a hotel. It was first occupied as a shop, about the year 1774, by Mr. John Neale, a silk-mercier.'

From what follows it will be found that in this altered account Dr. Chambers had got somewhat nearer to the true facts of the case, although it is still far from being an accurate narrative of what took place. Strangely enough, the correction so made by Chambers himself, in 1829, seems to have been entirely overlooked, and the erroneous version, as given in 1825, has been copied without question, not only in other books on the subject, but even in the later editions of the *Traditions* themselves.

The projects of the extension of the royalty and the building of the North Bridge were under discussion for a very considerable period before they were actually carried into execution. In the year 1759 an attempt was made to procure an Act of Parliament for these purposes, but it had to be abandoned on account of the opposition of the proprietors in the county; and at last, in 1763, mainly owing to the energy and determination of Lord Provost Drummond, the Council set about building the bridge without an Act, carefully keeping the question of the extension of the royalty in the background, and putting forward as their chief object the desirability of

improving the means of communication between Edinburgh and Leith.

At the same time, however, negotiations seem to have been going on between the Magistrates and the various proprietors of the grounds immediately to the north of the city, with a view to the purchase of these by the Corporation. One of these owners was John Graham, a plumber, who is described as 'proprietor of one half of the lands called Whitecroft, and whose possession extended from that part commonly known by the name of Forglan's Park, westward along the south part of the Multrees Hill, for 200 yards and upwards.' On 22nd January 1763, Graham made an offer of his property in a letter to the Lord Provost, in which he says: 'I will by no means be a hindrance to the City of Edinburgh's improving their property on the north side thereof, by refusing to let the city have my property on the Multrees Hill at a reasonable price; I will therefore accept of the same price for my half thereof which they paid for the other half of the subject they lately bought; with the reservation that they let me have a feu of a quarter of an acre of ground for building a dwelling-house and what other conveniences I need for myself upon such a spot of ground as I see convenient for me; and I shall hold it of the city for payment of one penny Scots of feu-duty yearly, if demanded.' Shortly after this, he intimated to the Council 'that the spot of ground which he judged convenient for his quarter of an acre is and should be where his house and shop were situated, and to be bounded as follows—viz., on the south by the elm hedge; on the east by the dike on the west side of the highway that leads up to the Multrees Hill; on the west by the dike that leads from the said elm hedge northward; and on the north according as the measurement of the quarter of an acre might terminate and should be staked out.' The elm hedge which figures in this description ran from east to west, and must have been pretty nearly in the line of the present departure platform of the East Coast trains. The Council accepted Graham's

offer, but differences afterwards arose as to the terms of the bargain, one point in dispute being whether or not the feu so granted was to be liable to the town's taxes. These differences were finally submitted to the Dean of the Faculty of Advocates, who decided that Graham was entitled 'to hold that quarter of an acre of the lands of Multrees Hill mentioned and described in the aforesaid submission, presently retained and possessed by him, or that other quarter of an acre which shall be set apart and allotted to him as in lieu thereof, when the whole lands of Multrees Hill came to be divided into lots, in the view of the intended buildings in those parts, feu of the town of Edinburgh, for payment of one penny Scots of feu-duty yearly, if demanded, in full of all exactions or demands whatsoever, and without being liable or subject to any of the town's burdens, or to any proportion of cess corresponding to said one quarter of an acre.' In accordance with this decision the Council in August 1765 granted to Graham a disposition of the quarter of an acre above described, and they bound and obliged themselves and their successors to free and relieve the said lands 'of all cesses, stents, taxations, and all other publick burdens whatsoever, and of all feu and blench duties, ministers stipends, and schoolmasters salaries, due and payable for or furth of the same, not only at and preceding the term of Whitsunday last, but in all time coming hereafter, excepting the foresaid yearly feu-duty of a penny Scots money.' By the same deed, however, they reserved to themselves the right at any time previous to 19th April 1767, to redeem the said piece of ground and to give Graham in exchange, and on the same terms, the first choice of a quarter of an acre out of the building lots, into which they intended to divide the ground of the proposed New Town. It was also provided that if by the above date the Council were not prepared to make this fresh allotment, then their right of redemption was to lapse, and Graham was to remain possessed by absolute title of the original quarter of an acre on the terms stated.

It was not till the summer of 1767 that the Corporation at last got their Act for extending the royalty, and were ready with their plans for the New Town. Meantime Graham had died, and the period allowed for redemption of his feu having expired, the Council found themselves in a serious difficulty with his representatives; for the northern boundary of the piece of ground in their possession, and on which they were entitled to build, ran along the centre of the principal street of the New Town, i.e. Princes Street, and when asked to take their lot further back to the south they declined, alleging that the ground to the south of their plot having been quarried, it was of no use for building. After some negotiation a way out of the difficulty was at last found. Mr. John Home, a coach-builder, had offered for and been granted a feu of a rood of ground at the east end of the north side of Princes Street, and he now came forward and said he was willing to make an exchange with Graham's representatives, and to take their ground with an alteration of its boundaries, so as to conform to the line of the street as laid out. This offer was accepted, and an excambion was effected by which Home got Graham's lot modified as required, on the same terms as those he had agreed to for the rood on the north side of the street; while Graham's representatives, Mr. Charles Robertson, painter, and Mr. John Humble, plumber, got the rood on the north side on Graham's original terms, including the stipulation of freedom from all town's burdens. The entire rood was divided into three parts, the eastmost being allotted to Humble, and the other two to Robertson. This rood is that on which the buildings Nos. 10 to 15 Princes Street now stand, and these properties consequently continue to enjoy the privilege of exemption from burgh taxes of which the origin has now been traced.

As to statements by Dr. Chambers and others with regard to John Neale's connection with the eastmost of these houses, that at the corner next the Register House, the fact is that in November 1769, immediately after the settle-

ment of the affair with the Town Council, Neale acquired from John Humble, one of Graham's representatives as above stated, the eastmost half of his feu, having thirty feet ten inches of frontage in Princes Street. On this he built the house in question, and it remained the property of himself and his heirs down to 1820, when it was purchased by Mr. Archibald Constable. It is not at all clear however that Neale ever occupied the house either as a dwelling-house or as a shop. In none of the early Directories of the city, from 1773 onwards, does Neale's name appear among the inhabitants of Princes Street; while, on the other hand, in the Directories from 1773 to 1782 there appears the entry 'John Neal,' or 'John Neal and Son, Haberdashers, back of the guard,' that is, in the High Street, alongside of the old Guard-house. Further, the street floor of the Princes Street house was occupied by Matthew Poole, and was known as the Princes Street Coffee-house. It is so described in all the early Directories, and the signboard, with this inscription, may be seen in a view of the locality which appears in Fittler's *Scotia Depicta*, published in 1804. It is true that the *Edinburgh Courant* of March 5, 1774, contains an advertisement of a model of the city of Paris 'to be seen at Mr. Neal's large room the corner of Princes Street facing the Bridge,' and in January 1775, a sale of silks is advertised 'at Mr. Neale's wareroom corner of Princes Street, New Town'; but as Neale was also the owner of premises in the block of buildings at the corner of the North Bridge, erected on the feu granted to John Home, it is quite likely that the rooms referred to in these advertisements were in that building. Indeed the description 'the corner of Princes Street facing the Bridge' is more applicable to that situation than to the house on the north side of Princes Street.

Among the original occupiers of the houses built on the feu granted to Graham's representatives, one of the most notable was Thomas Elder of Forneth, who was three times Lord Provost of Edinburgh, having been elected to that office in 1788, in

1792, and in 1796. In 1770 he purchased the west half of the ground granted, as above stated, to Charles Robertson, and on it he erected the house now number 15 Princes Street. The street floor was probably from the first devoted to shops, but the upper floors were occupied by Elder as his dwelling-house from 1770 to 1796. For about twenty-five years from the latter date the house was known as Fortune's Tontine Tavern and Coffee-house. It was so called from the fact that the property was held by a company under the system known as a Tontine, and as Tontines are now things of the past, the story of this one may be of some interest. What the arrangement was is best explained by a quotation from the narrative clauses of one of the title-deeds of the property. It is stated that Matthew Fortune, Vintner in Edinburgh, in the year 1795, made a proposal for purchasing the property in question 'in order to convert the same into a Tavern and for raising the value therefor by way of Tontine, that the said property was purchased for the above purpose and after several meetings the following agreement was entered into, viz. that the value of the said property should be estimated at Five thousand pounds Sterling, that the said sum should be divided into Fifty shares of one hundred pounds each, that each subscriber should name a person of sixty years of age or upwards and the subscriber whose nominee should be the longest liver of the persons so named should become the sole proprietor of the said subjects, the rents thereof in the meantime being divided annually among the subscribers whose nominees were in life.' As a sufficient number of subscribers of £100 were not forthcoming, it was agreed to accept subscriptions for half or quarter shares of £50 or £25, a nominee to be fixed on by every two or every four of such subscribers. In the end about ninety subscribers were obtained and the transaction was duly carried through. The list of subscribers is not without interest; it includes the names of the Duke of Hamilton, and the Duke of Buccleuch; the Earls of Eglinton, Cassilis, Dalhousie, Breadalbane, Hynd-

ford and Hopetoun; Henry Dundas, afterwards Lord Melville; Robert Dundas, the Lord Advocate; Dr. Baird, Principal of Edinburgh University, and a number of well-known landed proprietors, lawyers, and Edinburgh merchants. The Tontine arrangement was not carried out to the bitter end, for in 1820, when the nominees of the original subscribers had been reduced by death to nine in number, the shareholders, represented by these nominees, agreed that at the termination of the Tontine the property should be divided among them or their representatives in proportion to their respective holdings, instead of falling entirely to the shareholder whose nominee was the last survivor. Apparently the death of the last of the nominees did not occur till about 1830, for it was only in 1831 that the Tontine was finally wound up, and the shares in the property allocated as had been agreed upon.

We now take up the history of the buildings erected on the south side of Princes Street on the site acquired by John Home in the manner already related.

In addition to Graham's original feu, modified as described, Home had acquired from the town, at various dates, additional ground to the west and south, making altogether 162 feet of frontage in Princes Street, that is, from the end of the bridge to the present site of the Waverley Steps; and stretching back 318 feet, that is, about as far as the present railway booking-office. Portions of this area were shortly thereafter sub-feued by him to others, and, presumably with the view of creating a street frontage on the east, he appears to have laid off ground for the formation of a street leading down from Princes Street immediately to the west of the parapet of the bridge. This street, afterwards called St. Anne Street, was about 30 feet wide, and very steep, having a gradient of one in six. In June 1770 Home and Messrs. Young and Trotter, upholsterers, petitioned the Council to grant them a feu of an area extending 110 feet to the west of the area already acquired by Home, for the purpose apparently of building workshops there. The

Council agreed to this but under certain conditions and servitudes, one of these being that no building erected on this area should rise higher than the level of Princes Street. On 8th August 1770, a committee reported to the Council their opinion that 'no more of the remaining area running along the south side of Princes Street, and lying to the west of the feus already granted, should be feued till the quarries are filled up, and then feuars may have a proper place to dispose of the earth which they may be obliged to dig.' No sooner, however, was it seen that buildings were about to be erected on Home's ground, than protests and objections were raised by a number of the New Town feuars against what they held to be a breach of faith on the part of the Town Council. In Craig's plan of the New Town, which had been published and exhibited in 1767, all the sloping bank to the west of the bridge was shown as left free of building, and laid out as pleasure ground, with an ornamental sheet of water, or *canal*, as it was called, occupying the lowest part of the valley. The objectors now asserted that it was in reliance on this plan being adhered to that they had taken their feus, and that therefore the Council, in permitting building on those grounds, had broken through one of the essential conditions of the bargain. Whatever may be thought of the action of the Magistrates and Town Council on the ground of regard for the future amenity of the city, and the preservation of the beauty of Princes Street, it must be admitted that on a strictly legal view of the case they had a good deal to say for themselves. In the first place the published plan by Craig founded on by the complainers had from the outset been departed from in several particulars. Then the proposals or conditions contained in an Act of Council, 29th July 1767, in the knowledge of which the feuars had applied for and taken their lots, contained the following clause: 'As it is not intended at present to feu out the ground betwixt the South Street¹ and the North Loch, the feuars upon that street should have an oblige-

¹ i.e. Princes Street.

tion in their favour, that if houses were afterwards built there, they should not be nearer to their houses than ninety-six feet.' Further, the Council referred to the original terms of the bargain with Graham, by which the ground which he was to get in the New Town was distinctly stated to be for building purposes, and they argued that Home, as coming in Graham's place, was entitled to use the ground for the same purpose.

After some discussion and correspondence between the Council and the feuars, the latter, in 1771, raised a summons of declarator and damages against the Council, and at the same time presented to the Court a bill of suspension and interdict to prevent the progress of the building. The Court of Session refused this bill, but on appeal the House of Lords, in April 1772, reversed this decision, and ordered the Court of Session 'to pass the bill of suspension, that it may be conjoined with the action of declarator, and the question of right decided.' The judgment of the House of Lords was delivered by Lord Mansfield, who, in his speech, expressed himself in very strong language indeed as to the conduct of the Town Council. In his closing sentences he said: 'Let me earnestly recommend to this Corporation to call to their aid the same assistance they set out with—let them consult with their standing counsel what may be for their honour, what for their interest, neither of which they seem for some time to have understood. I give my opinion, therefore, my Lords, for continuing this injunction, not only on the plain and open principles of justice, but from regard to the public, and from regard to this misguided Corporation itself.' Although, however, Lord Mansfield had thus pretty clearly indicated his opinion, the decision of the House of Lords was not in strict form one on the merits, but merely an order to the Court of Session to pass the bill of suspension in order to try the question.

Shortly after this the Court of Session, when the action of declarator came before it, decided in favour of the Town Council and dismissed the action. The feuars then intimated an appeal

to the House of Lords, which, in view of the opinions formerly expressed by Lord Mansfield, might probably have been successful. By this time, however, the buildings complained of were approaching completion, and both parties seem to have become convinced that some compromise was desirable. Various negotiations took place, and at last the parties agreed on a submission to Mr. David Rae, advocate, afterwards Lord Justice-Clerk, better known by his title of Lord Eskgrove, who pronounced a decreet-arbitral on 19th March 1776. In this document it is declared that the houses on Home's feu in Princes Street and St. Anne Street are to be finished 'in proper taste' in accordance with a specified plan and elevation; but that the buildings on the south side of Princes Street are not to extend further than 'the west front of Messrs. Young and Trotter's intended wareroom,' that is, the building immediately to the east of the present Waverley Steps. It is further declared that in the ground to the west of this, feued to Messrs. Young and Trotter, they are to be allowed, in accordance with the terms of their contract, to erect workshops, etc., below the level of Princes Street; but with this exception, all the ground from the building above-mentioned westward to a point a short distance east of Hanover Street is to be 'kept and preserved in perpetuity as pleasure ground.'

It is somewhat curious to find that while the south side of Princes Street east of a point near Hanover Street was thus saved from being built upon, a clause in the decreet-arbitral declares that *westward* of the same point the Council shall have full power to feu out ground for building on the south side of the street, the only reservation being that the houses so built shall be not less than ninety-six feet from those on the north side and that they shall not extend more than a hundred and sixty feet in depth to the south. Fortunately no attempt seems to have been made by the Council to exercise this right, and in an Act of Parliament procured by the city in 1816 a clause was included preventing any such building in all time coming.

Thus was settled a dispute, the immense importance of which was doubtless hardly realised at the time by the parties concerned in it. One has only to imagine the irreparable injury which the city would have suffered had the Council been allowed to carry out their undoubted intention to build all along the south side of Princes Street, in order to awaken feelings of the liveliest gratitude to those who, by their action, prevented what would have been almost a national calamity.

Several views exist from which a fairly exact idea may be got of the appearance of the locality under consideration as it existed for between thirty and forty years after the date of Mr. Rae's decret-arbitral. Among these may be mentioned a view taken from the end of South St. Andrew Street, looking towards the North Bridge, published by G. R. Clarke in 1812; a view of the valley between the Old and New Town which forms the frontispiece to Sir John Carr's *Tour through Scotland*, published in 1809; and two views, Nos. 41 and 42, in the folio volume entitled *Edinburgh in the Olden Time*, published by the late Mr. T. G. Stevenson in 1880.

The buildings in Princes Street on Home's feu remained almost unaltered from 1776 till their final demolition in 1896, and were in great part continuously occupied as hotels. The archway in the centre of the block, in recent times the access to the North British Railway Offices, was the entrance to Home's coachyard, subsequently that of Messrs. J. Learmonth and Co., the yard itself being for the most part an open space extending from the Princes Street houses down to the back of those in Canal Street. Immediately to the east of the Princes Street houses, that is, between the corner latterly occupied as the Bridge Hotel and the parapet of the bridge itself, was St. Anne Street, leading, as already mentioned, by a very steep descent to the east end of Canal Street. The buildings in St. Anne Street were of a very inferior order. In the answers for the Town Council to the action raised in 1817 they are thus described:—

'The whole were reared and finished in the meanest and most irregular manner, presenting to the view over the parapet wall of the North Bridge a range of dirty and deformed chimney tops and of heavy roofs, in which the most curious eye could scarcely discover any feature of the sublime or beautiful. They were occupied, too, exclusively by keepers of ale-houses and small shops, or by chairmen, porters, and common mechanics; and, in particular, by a numerous and exalted colony of operative tailors, whose gay and flaring signboards were the first objects that struck the traveller as he crossed to the Old Town; and whose newly washed or dyed old clothes, of all odious colours and smells, were displayed from the upper stories of these tenements, none of which had either offices, or back court, or yard of any description.'

In corroboration of one of these statements it may be noted that in the Directory for 1805, the first issued under the auspices of the Post Office, there are fourteen names with the address 'St. Anne Street,' and of these no fewer than eight are tailors.

From the foot of St. Anne Street, Canal Street ran westwards to a point opposite the opening of St. Andrew Street, at which a kind of bank, known as the 'Little Mound,' stretched across the valley. The houses in Canal Street faced south, and had enclosed plots of ground in front of them, while in the space to the south of this again, in the lowest part of the valley, were the city shambles, and latterly the Fruit and Vegetable Market. Canal Street has long been entirely blotted out of existence by the Waverley Station and the approaches thereto.

Forty years after the date of Mr. Rae's decret-arbitral, the group of buildings at the corner of Princes Street and the North Bridge was again the subject of a dispute between certain of the citizens of Edinburgh and the Town Council. The occasion of the dispute was the closing up of St. Anne Street, and the erection on its site of the range of buildings

running southward from the corner of Princes Street along the west side of the North Bridge.

This alteration was under consideration by the Town Council in the year 1815, and in the following year they petitioned Parliament for an Act to enable them to carry their intentions into effect. The petition states that the Council are 'desirous to have powers granted to them to contract and agree with the proprietors of houses in St. Anne Street on the west side and of the houses opposite the said street on the east side of the North Bridge, to erect buildings within 12 feet of the parapet walls of the North Bridge, and to have an access from the same, and to form a new road or access to Canal Street in lieu or place of St. Ann's Street.' The scheme was thus described in the *Edinburgh Advertiser* of 20th February 1816: 'We understand that the intended improvements on North Bridge Street will widen the northern end of that division for a considerable way fifty feet, and the remainder twenty-four feet, thus opening up the view of that superb building the Register Office, and guiding the eye to it from the south along a line of grand uniform architecture on each side, in place of a horrible assemblage of chimney tops, in every attitude of deformity, disgracing, as at present, its best and almost only point of view. In compensation for the very useless access by St. Anne's Street, the people of Canal Street are to have a serpentine road of gentle ascent, made from Princes Street, facing St. Andrew Street, through the Park, and ending at the Mound, by which loaded carts will pass easily up and down. This new road, besides, will form an admirable access to the public markets from the New Town.' The Act giving the necessary powers having been passed in May 1816, the Council entered into an agreement with the proprietors of the houses in St. Anne Street—namely, Messrs. James and George Cleghorn and Mr. John Wilson, whereby the Council disposed to these gentlemen the area of the said street, on which they were to erect a range of buildings accord-

ing to a plan prepared by Mr. Richard Crichton, architect, with the condition that a space of twelve feet was to be left between the front of the new buildings and the line of the existing parapet of the bridge, which space of twelve feet was to be arched over and paved, so as to add it to the width of the street.

Messrs. Cleghorn and Wilson divided the whole area into six lots, the two northmost of which they retained in their own hands, and exposed the other four for sale by public roup. After some delay these lots were all sold in May 1817; the old St. Anne Street houses were demolished, and the new buildings commenced.

Before the end of the same year the Council and their feuars found themselves threatened with an opposition which ultimately took the form of legal proceedings against the erection of the buildings in question. The story of this opposition and its result is thus summarised by Lord Cockburn in the *Memorials of His Time*: 'The new street along the southern side of the Calton Hill disclosed some glorious prospects, or at least exhibited these from new points. One of these was the view westwards over the North Bridge. But we had only begun to perceive its importance, when its interception by what are now called the North Bridge buildings raised our indignation, and we thought that the Magistrates, who allowed them to be set agoing in silence, had betrayed us. We were therefore very angry, and had recourse to another of these new things called public meetings, which we were beginning to feel the power of. It was held on the 2nd of December 1817. . . . Resolutions were passed, a subscription opened, and we went to law, where we got an ornate speech from Cranstoun, who recited "my own romantic town" to the court. But this was all we got; for, while the judges were looking rather favourable, our funds ebbed, and of course our ardour cooled. Then persons of taste began to hint that we were all wrong, and that the position of the buildings was beautiful; and at

last another meeting was held in May 1818, when we struck our colours. So we lost about £1000; the Magistrates got a fright; and the buildings stand.' In the bill of suspension and interdict presented to the Court, the charge made by Lord Cockburn against the Council, of allowing the buildings 'to be set agoing in silence,' is insisted upon at considerable length; but in justice to the Council, it must be said that in their answers they had little difficulty in disposing of this charge. They pointed out that all the proceedings in connection with the Act of Parliament above referred to had been conducted in the usual public manner, and also that the advertisement of the roup of the different lots had repeatedly appeared in all the newspapers.

From a statement issued in February 1818 by the committee in charge of the opposition, we learn that while the bill of suspension was before the Court, a compromise was suggested by them and submitted to the Lord Provost, to the effect that the buildings complained of should be reduced to a height of fifteen feet above the pavement of the bridge. This, however, would have involved the Council in awkward questions of compensation with their feuars, and after some correspondence it was rejected; and had the opposition not cooled down, as described by Lord Cockburn, the matter would, doubtless, have been fought out before the Court.

Reading at this distance of time the elaborate papers on both sides of the case, it seems doubtful on which side the balance of argument lies, and it is certainly more than doubtful whether the 'one-story block' proposed by the committee of the opposition would have been any improvement on the buildings as they were actually erected.

It is rather remarkable that while the objectors in 1817 were much concerned with the obstruction these buildings would cause to the view from the Calton Hill, they do not seem at all to have considered the appearance their backs would present to the west. Looked at from Princes Street, say in

the neighbourhood of the Scott Monument, these buildings conjoined with the older block on Home's feu in Princes Street certainly presented a very poor appearance, and their removal need not be regretted. Whether the building which has now taken their place (The North British Railway Hotel) can be regarded as a satisfactory substitute is a matter on which opinions may differ; but there can be no doubt that its erection has very materially injured that 'glorious prospect' from the Calton Hill, for the preservation of which Lord Cockburn and his friends were so much concerned.

WILLIAM COWAN.

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APPENDIX

FIRST ANNUAL REPORT

Etc.

Old Edinburgh Club

1908

Honorary Patrons

THE LORD PROVOST, MAGISTRATES, AND COUNCIL
OF THE CITY OF EDINBURGH.

Honorary President

THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF ROSEBERY, K.G., K.T.

Honorary Vice-Presidents

The Right Hon. THE LORD PROVOST OF EDINBURGH.
SIR THOMAS D. GIBSON CARMICHAEL, Bart.
SIR JAMES BALFOUR PAUL, LL.D., Lyon King of Arms.
Professor P. HUME BROWN, LL.D.

President

Professor JOHN CHIENE, C.B.

Vice-Presidents

JOHN HARRISON, Treasurer of the City of Edinburgh.
JAMES B. SUTHERLAND, S.S.C.
ANDREW E. MURRAY, W.S.

Secretary

LEWIS A. MACRITCHIE, 40 Princes Street.

Treasurer

HUGH CARBARN, 25 Braidburn Crescent.

Council

HIPPOLYTE J. BLANC, R.S.A., F.R.I.B.A., 25 Rutland Square.
WILLIAM J. HAY, John Knox's House.
Professor G. BALDWIN BROWN, 50 George Square.
WALTER B. BLAIKIE, 11 Thistle Street.
ROBERT COCHRANE, 47 Morningside Drive.
BRUCE J. HOME, 5 Upper Gray Street.
J. CAMERON ROBBIE, 22 York Place.
ROBERT T. SKINNER, M.A., Donaldson's Hospital.
D. F. LOWE, LL.D., George Heriot's Hospital.
JAMES OLIVER, 11 Claremont Terrace.
ADAM SMAIL, 35 Lauriston Gardens.
THOMAS ROSS, Architect, 14 Saxe-Cobourg Place.

REPORT OF THE FIRST ANNUAL MEETING OF THE OLD EDINBURGH CLUB

THE FIRST ANNUAL MEETING OF THE CLUB was held in the Old Council Room, City Chambers, on the afternoon of Friday, 29th January 1909, at 4 o'clock.

The Right Honourable the EARL OF ROSEBURY, K.G., K.T., Honorary President of the Club, presided. There was a large attendance of ladies and gentlemen.

Apologies were intimated from Professor John Chiene, Hon. Lord Guthrie, Sir Robert Usher, Col. Gordon Gilmour, and Rev. Dr. Glasse.

The Secretary submitted the First Annual Report, which is in the following terms :—

The Council beg to submit to the Club its first Annual Report.

The inaugural meeting of the Club was held in the Old Council Chamber on 29th January 1908. There was a large attendance, and the Chair was occupied by Professor Chiene. The Chairman having explained the objects and aims of the Club, moved that the Club be formed, and that the proposed Constitution, which would be the Rules, be approved. Mr. W. J. Hay seconded, and the motion was unanimously adopted. Office-bearers and Council were appointed, and it was agreed to ask the Lord Provost, Magistrates, and Council of the City to become the Patrons of the Club.

The first general meeting of the Club was held in the Burgh Court Room on the evening of 29th April 1908. The Chair

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was occupied by Mr. John Harrison, Treasurer of the City, and there was a large attendance. Mr. William Cowan delivered a lecture on 'A Walk through Old Edinburgh.' He described a walk from the West Port up the West Bow, down High Street and Canongate to Holyrood, round by Trinity College Church, and back by Leith Wynd, St. Mary's Wynd, and Cowgate to the Grassmarket. The lecture was illustrated with views of places of historical interest passed in the walk. Mr. Cowan expressed regret that interesting old houses had disappeared, and said that something should be done in future to preserve houses of historical interest. A cordial vote of thanks was awarded to Mr. Cowan for his lecture.

On the invitation of the Council of the Edinburgh Photographic Society the members joined the Survey Section of that Society in a walk round the line of the old Walls of Edinburgh under the leadership of Mr. John Geddie. The party met on the Castle Esplanade, where Mr. Geddie made some remarks on the Edinburgh Wall and its extensions. They proceeded down the West Bow, through the Grassmarket and up the Vennel, where a portion of the Wall was seen. They then entered the grounds of Heriot's Hospital, and Dr. Lowe conducted the party through the Council Room, Kitchen, and Dining Room and Chapel of the Hospital. The carved work and grotesque figures ornamenting the building were much admired. After leaving the Hospital the party proceeded through Society, down Chambers Street, to Drummond Street School—at the back of which a portion of the wall is still visible—and down the Pleasance and up St. Mary Street to Jeffrey Street, where Mr. Geddie pointed out the remainder of the line of the Wall.

The most important work undertaken by the Club has been the production of *The Book of the Old Edinburgh Club* on the lines laid down at the first meeting of Council, when it was decided that the initial volume should be of the nature of a Miscellany. From amongst the papers submitted the Editorial

Committee have been fortunate enough to secure the following :—

1. Provisional List of Old Houses remaining in High Street and Canongate of Edinburgh, by Mr. Bruce J. Home.
2. The Embalming of Montrose, by Mr. J. C. Robbie.
3. The Pantheon, an Old Edinburgh Debating Society, by Mr. John A. Fairley.
4. Sculptured Stones of Old Edinburgh, by Mr. John Geddie.
5. The Buildings at the East End of Princes Street and Corner of North Bridge, by Mr. William Cowan.

The information in Mr. Bruce Home's paper, with accompanying key map, will, it is hoped, make it a reference article on the subject for all time coming. Many of the particulars of Mr. Robbie's paper on the Embalming of Montrose, taken from documents in the Register House, are of the nature of a discovery, and have hitherto escaped the vigilance of the biographers of Montrose. New light is thrown on many points, including the fate of the heart of Montrose. Mr. Geddie's paper on the Sculptured Stones of the Nisbet Family affords many interesting side lights on events of history, and on the history of the Nisbets of Dean and their contemporaries and friends. Mr. John A. Fairley, in his paper, gives an interesting account of the constitution and meetings of the Pantheon, an Old Edinburgh Society, and Mr. William Cowan gives correctly, for the first time, the conditions upon which the first houses were erected at the East End of Princes Street.

The Council hope to have the Book delivered to the Members within the next few weeks.

Lord ROSEBURY said: Ladies and Gentlemen, It now falls to me to move the adoption of the report to which you have just listened. This is the first annual meeting of the Old Edinburgh Club, which by a strange accident or a far-seeing design falls exactly on the anniversary of the foundation meeting that was held last year. I think this report and the volume which accompanies it is the best justification for the formation of the club. I think the feeling of most of us with regard to this club must

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be one of surprise that it has not been long ago in existence, and one of strong regret that such has not been the case. So far as I know, we are indebted to Mr. Hay, of John Knox's House, for the first idea of the club, and I think we ought not to lose this opportunity of expressing our indebtedness to him. There are one or two points with regard to the constitution of the club to which I wish to call attention. There are members of the club who receive the annual volume, and associates of the club who do not. I am not sure that the idea of associates of the club seems to be so successful an idea as the other parts of the constitution. Only ten have joined in that category, and I think that in itself shows that the associates are not likely to form a very substantial feature of the club. I should recommend, therefore, the council to consider whether it is worth while to continue that separate sort of membership. As to the 300 members of the club, in a year, without any of the necessary process of advertisement, no less than 175 out of the whole 300 have joined. In connection with that I wish to address a very solemn warning to my friends and acquaintances in Edinburgh with regard to the expediency, I might add the necessity, of their joining this club without delay, unless they mean to be shut out. I remember, when we founded the Scottish History Society some years ago, I, in a similar manner, and perhaps less publicly, warned my friends that they had better lose no time in belonging to it. The result has been that some, like the foolish virgins, neglected my advice, and they, like the foolish virgins, are left lamenting at this moment. Some thirty or forty volumes have been issued by the Scottish History Society, which are of great intrinsic value themselves, and my friends, if low on the candidates' list, have little or no chance of belonging to the society, besides having missed this invaluable adjunct to their libraries. Let that be a warning to those who are thinking of joining the Old Edinburgh Club if they have not yet taken the trouble to do so. Our annual volume will, I may safely predict from the specimen of the volume which lies before me, be of inestimable value to every citizen of Edinburgh who cherishes the traditions of his ancient city. I will not put it in the dismal category of those books which no gentleman's library would be without, for that might cause a coldness instead of an eagerness as regards joining the club; but they will constitute, I am convinced, volumes full of interest almost necessary to those who desire to live in Edinburgh enjoyably—that is to say, enjoyably by enjoying the traditions as well as the climate of our ancient city. There is another very prominent feature connected with the constitution of the club on

which I venture to congratulate it, more especially as we are met in the old City Chamber, and that is, that the ordinary patrons of the club are the Lord Provost, Magistrates, and Town Council of the City of Edinburgh. I think that is not merely an important countenance for the club to receive, but it also indicates something in the nature of a pledge, which in view of the past is not wholly unnecessary, that the Lord Provost, Magistrates, and Town Council of the City of Edinburgh will, so far as lies in their power, always respect the ancient monuments of this city. I pass from that, and I come to the volume of which our obliging secretary supplied me with a rough copy this morning, and although I have not had very much time to read it, I may say I devoured as much of its contents as I could in the time without the slightest difficulty before coming to this chamber. It began with a sentence, the most sinister and most dismal in the whole book, which was—'That it may be safely affirmed that since 1860 two-thirds of the ancient buildings in the Old Town of Edinburgh have been demolished.' That is to say, within the lives of many of us here present, and certainly within my own, two-thirds of the ancient monuments of this city, crumbling old houses which formed so distinguished and historical a feature, have been swept away. Was that necessary? Well, we should have to have a searching commission, which is not likely to sit, to investigate each particular instance, but at least this dismal fact may make us resolve on this, that so far as this club can be efficacious, and so far as our honorary patrons can use their best endeavours, the remaining one-third of the ancient buildings of Edinburgh will receive all the respect that is possible.

The first paper in this volume, from which I quoted that sinister sentence, will amply repay perusal if you get over the sentiments that the opening excites. It is a provisional list of the old houses remaining in the High Street and Canongate of Edinburgh—a paper, I venture to say, which will always be considered a classic essay of reference with regard to this subject, and which is further enriched with a map of the Old Town of Edinburgh and the surviving parts of it, which, I venture to say without contradiction, is worth the whole annual subscription in itself. For that we are indebted to Mr. Bruce Home—and I hereby wish to express the acknowledgments of our association to him for the work which must have given him so much trouble and so much research. Then we come to an article on the embalming of Montrose—a subject in itself not perhaps immediately attractive—which contains new and original matter with regard to what may be called the

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last stage of one of our traditional Scottish heroes—historical matter which no biographer of Montrose and no historian of Scotland could venture in the future to disregard. Then we come to a paper on The Pantheon, an Old Edinburgh debating society, which has a peculiar interest to myself, because I think on a former occasion I ventured publicly to urge on Edinburgh the duty of trying to discover the innumerable records of these old clubs which may yet be in existence. The clubs were innumerable, and they usually had records, and if those who possess them would come forward and place them at the disposition of our society, I am quite sure we should be delighted to reprint them and preserve them if only they are sufficiently correct, which I am afraid they are not all, for the purpose of publication. And that leads me to a consideration which is perhaps almost as melancholy as the opening sentence of our volume. These clubs have vanished, and they will not be resuscitated, and why? The reason is simple enough, they were all supper clubs. The great meal of Old Edinburgh was the supper. It was there that the convivial exchange of wit and flow of soul took place of which we read in the memoirs of the period, described with enthusiasm and ecstasy which is hardly possible for our degenerate people to understand. We cannot have those any more because under the municipal regulations we are forbidden to sup. I do not know that this will be the appropriate moment to introduce such an apple of discord as the question of our licensing regulations—I think perhaps it would not—and I see the Town Clerk has his eye fixed on me with some sternness and severity. At any rate, it may be permitted to shed a tear over the period when it was permissible for a citizen of Edinburgh without a special licence—as if he were going to be married in some illicit manner—to enjoy the privilege of supping as his ancestors did.

Then we come to the paper on the sculptured stones of Old Edinburgh, relating chiefly to the village of Dean, of which we used to read that it contained a race quite distinct from the race which inhabited Old Edinburgh, and with which it was hardly able to exchange thoughts, so different was its language. But here at any rate we have a most careful and scholarlike description, interspersed with most admirable illustrations of the sculptured stones that are still to be found in the Dean village. The author is a little reluctant to think of these stones being put into the museum and taken away from the place which they were wont to adorn. I am not quite sure I homologate—that splendid Scottish word we seldom hear out of Edinburgh—this contention. If

we were quite certain that the weather would respect those stones, that the architect would respect those stones, that the unprincipled builder would respect those stones, I would say leave them by all means where they are. We all know many instances to the contrary, and I do hope where any such stone is in peril, when the owner is selling the property containing such a stone to the speculator of dubious conscience, that he will not hesitate to extract the stone and put it here in our municipal museum. Lastly, we come to the paper—which we welcome—on the boundary edge of the whole scope of our club—the buildings at the east end of Princes Street and the corner of the North Bridge. That, of course, is outside Old Edinburgh, but it is becoming Old Edinburgh, and I should be sorry if a pedantry of antiquity made us exclude any such paper as that. The Edinburgh, as it was once called, was rapidly becoming Old Edinburgh, and it would be false modesty on the part of the Old Edinburgh Club if they excluded from our annual volume any paper so interesting as this on the buildings at the east end of Princes Street. Now I do not know that I should detain you any longer, but there are solemn thoughts connected with this subject which could not wholly be disregarded on an occasion of this kind. We have seen so much disappear, even those of us who do not feel ourselves in the last stage of senility. We know very well that the absolutely necessary warrants the sacrifice of antiquity, but we do not always feel that the plea of necessity is proved. It will be the task of the Old Edinburgh Club in season and out of season to bear testimony on behalf of antiquity where it is threatened by an unnecessary development of utility. Necessity was one thing—utilitarianism was another.

We should recollect—I hope we all recollect—that Edinburgh's face is its fortune. I know in the Council Chamber here they have recently been urging claims for converting Edinburgh into a manufacturing city, and at the same time preserving the fortune of its face. These objects are not very easy to combine. Sheffield and Newcastle are built on favoured sites, but their faces are no longer their fortunes, and I think it will be necessary for those who have the trusteeship of Edinburgh for the time being to remember very carefully that the combination which is sought by these projects is not very easy to obtain. Whether manufactures will ever come to Edinburgh, is a much more doubtful point. Manufactures are apt to settle where their own convenience calls, and it does not appear any great call of convenience has yet made them come to Edinburgh. When they strike out new

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ground they go to places where the rates are as low as possible—and likely to continue as low as possible, and they don't seek ancient cities with any such hope or expectation; but whether the benefit even then would be so great as supposed, I am a little sceptical. Manufacturers bring their own population; they will not accept the limited scale of employed population they find already there. They bring a population with them which is almost as liable to unemployment as any other class of the population, and it is not at all impossible that when seeking to remedy the distresses of Edinburgh by converting it into a manufacturing city you may not rather increase them. However, that is not for you or for me to do. I cannot help touching on it in passing—it would be for manufacturers to choose for themselves. At any rate while we are here without them, while we remain our own great historical city, while we are privileged to enjoy it without any unnecessary atmosphere of smoke save that which is used for domestic purposes, let us take care at any rate that as trustees for posterity we preserve the ancient historical metropolis as untouched as possible. You may have a new Edinburgh, but by no conceivable hypothesis will you have an Edinburgh more beautiful.

Mr. H. J. BLANC moved the election of Lord Rosebery as Hon. President, and Lord Provost Gibson, Sir Thomas Gibson Carmichael, Sir James Balfour Paul, and Professor Hume Brown as Hon. Vice-Presidents, which was agreed to. Mr. Walter B. Blaikie was elected President in succession to Professor Chiene, and Mr. J. B. Sutherland, S.S.C., Mr. H. J. Blanc, and Professor Chiene were elected Vice-Presidents, with Mr. Lewis A. MacRitchie as Secretary, and Mr. Hugh Carbarns as Treasurer. Mr. BLAIKIE, the new President, in returning thanks, said that Edinburgh always turned for advice and assistance on almost every matter to Lord Rosebery, and he had taught the men of Scotland and particularly the men of Edinburgh, that it was possible to devote one's interest to local affairs without being parochial. Mr. William Cowan, Mr. John Geddie, Mr. William Baird, and Mr. John Hogben were elected Members of Council in room of Mr. Hippolyte J. Blanc, Mr. W. J. Hay, Professor G. Baldwin Brown, and Mr. W. B. Blaikie who retire.

The TREASURER submitted the financial statement, from which it appeared that the balance in hand was £60, 6s. 7d.

On the motion of Mr. THOMAS ROSS a hearty vote of thanks was awarded to the retiring office-bearers and members of council.

SIR JAMES BALFOUR PAUL, seconded by the LORD PROVOST, moved a vote of thanks to Lord Rosebery for presiding.

In reply, LORD ROSEBERY said that Sir James Balfour Paul had said of him that he was almost an Edinburgh man. He would venture to remind them that he was not almost, but quite, an Edinburgh citizen of very ancient standing. There was one practical suggestion he would like to make. He saw that many attractive walks had taken place under competent guidance, under the auspices of the association, over the ancient parts of Edinburgh. He was only speaking for himself, and he suspected he was speaking for others when he said they would gladly have had the opportunity of joining in these perambulations, but he suggested that they issue cards for their meets as foxhounds did, so that they might all assemble and know in what direction the hunt for antiquity would take place. That was a practical suggestion, and he left it as his last contribution to the meeting.

ABSTRACT OF RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS

From Date of Institution of the Club to 26th January 1909

RECEIPTS	PAYMENTS
1. Subscriptions for Year 1908 :—	1. Printing, stationery, and advertising, . £7 10 4
(1) Members, 140 at 10s. 6d., . £73 10 0	2. Expenses of Meetings, (lantern, post-cards, etc.), . . . 2 7 6
(2) Associates, 9 at 2s. 6d., . . 1 2 6	3. Miscellaneous, (post- ages, hire of room, etc.), . . . 4 10 1
	<hr/> £14 7 11
2. Interest :—	
On Deposit Receipt for £50 with Clydes- dale Bank, . . . 0 2 0	Funds at 26th January 1909—
	In Clydesdale Bank on Deposit Re- ceipt, . £50 0 0
	In Do. on Current Account, . 8 6 3
	In hands of Treasurer, 2 0 4
	<hr/> 60 6 7
<hr/> £74 14 6	<hr/> £74 14 6

H. CARBARN, *Hon. Treas.*

EDINBURGH, 34 YORK PLACE, 29th January 1909.—I have examined the Accounts of the Honorary Treasurer's Intromissions of the Old Edinburgh Club for the period from the date of the Institution of the Club to 26th January 1909, of which the above is an Abstract, and find them correctly stated and sufficiently vouched and instructed.

JOHN HAMILTON, C.A.,
Hon. Auditor.

Old Edinburgh Club

LIST OF MEMBERS

1908

ADAM, J. S., 104 Braid Road.
Alexander, Miss M. A., 11 Torphichen Street.
Anderson, David, Advocate, 10 India Street.
Anderson, Miss Helen Maud, 12 Learmonth Terrace.
Anderson, Walter G., 31 Drummond Place.
Angus, William, Historical Dept., H.M. Register House.
Armstrong, John Johnston, Clunie, Viewpark Gardens, Broomieknowe, Lasswade.

BAIRD, WILLIAM, J.P., Clydesdale Bank House, Portobello.
Balfour, Prof. Isaac Bayley, Inverleith House.
Barbour, James S., 2 Blackford Road.
Barnett, David, Corporation Museum.
Barrett, J. A. S., M.A., 12 Eglinton Crescent.
Barrie, John A., 114 Viewforth.
Barton, W. B., Lauriston Castle, Midlothian.
Baxendine, Andrew, Melbourne House, Sciennes Road.
Baxter, David, M.A., Elmhurst, Cramond Bridge.
Berry, Robert, 18 Kilmaurs Terrace.
Blaikie, Walter Biggar, 11 Thistle Street.
Blanc, Hippolyte J., R.S.A., 25 Rutland Square.
Bonar, Horatius, W.S., 3 St. Margaret's Road.
Bonnar, William, 8 Spence Street.
Bowman, John, 133 Dalkeith Road.
Boyes, John, 73 Slateford Road.
Brotherston, G. M., 23 Jeffrey Street.
Brown, Miss A., 8 Frederick Street.
Brown, James R., 46 Inverleith Place.
Brown, Prof. G. Baldwin, 50 George Square.
Brown, Prof. P. Hume, LL.D., 20 Corrennie Gardens.
Bruce, Alexander, Clyne House, Pollokshields.
Bryce, P. Ross, F.S.A.Scot., 1 Lady Road.

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Bryce, Wm. Moir, F.S.A.Scot., Dunedin, Blackford Road.
Burnett, Rev. W., B.D., Restalrig Manse, Lismore Crescent.

CALDERWOOD, Rev. R. S., Cambuslang.
Cameron, James, 1 So. St. David Street.
Cameron, James M., 26 Melville Terrace.
Campbell, J. D. B., The University Club, Princes Street.
Carbarns, Hugh, 25 Braidburn Crescent.
Cargill, Alexander, J.P., 18 Wester Coates Gardens.
Carmichael, James T., Viewfield, Duddingston Park.
Carmichael, Sir T. D. Gibson, Bart., Malleny House, Balerno.
Carmichael, Thomas, 2 Strathearn Place.
Caverhill, T. F. S., M.B., 6 Manor Place.
Chiene, John, C.B., Aithernie, Davidson's Mains.
Chrystal, F. M., 5 Belgrave Crescent.
Clark, Arch. B., M.A., 16 Comely Bank Street.
Clark, John B., M.A., F.R.S.E., Heriot's Hospital.
Clarkson, James Copland, 20 Forth Street.
Cochrane, Robert, 47 Morningside Drive.
Cockburn, Harry A., 37 Royal Avenue, Chelsea, S.W.
Cooper, W. Ross, M.A., 94 George Street.
Cormack, D. S., 16 Dalziel Place, London Road.
Couper, Rev. W. J., M.A., 26 Circus Drive, Glasgow.
Cowan, John James, Westerlea, Murrayfield.
Cowan, William, 47 Braid Avenue.
Craig, Sterling, M.A., 18 Buccleuch Place.
Cranston, Sir Robert, K.C.V.O., V.D., Dunard, Grange Loan.
Cumming, David, 12 Trinity Road.

DALGLEISH, JOHN J. (of Westgrange), Brankston Grange, Bogside
Station, Alloa.

Darling, Alexander, J.P., 23 South Oswald Road.
Davidson, Rev. George, B.Sc., 7 Bellevue Crescent.
Dick, Thomas, S.S.C., 71 East Trinity Road, Leith.
Dobbie, Joseph, S.S.C., 21 Hill Street.
Dobie, Judge W. Fraser, 47 Grange Road.
Donald, A. Graham, F.F.A., 34 Marchmont Road.
Douglas, Judge R. A., Glenosmond, Inverleith Terrace.
Dow, James, 53 Princes Street.
Drummond, W. J. A., C.A., 37 George Street.

LIST OF MEMBERS

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EADIE, ANDREW, 22 Melville Terrace.
Easson, Alexander, S.S.C., 50 Queen Street.
Elliot, Andrew, 17 Princes Street.
Elliot, Councillor Stuart Douglas, S.S.C., 40 Princes Street.

FAIRLEY, J. A., 3 Barnton Gardens, Barnton Gate.
Fergus, James A., 27 Braid Road.
Ferguson, James Haig, M.D., 7 Coates Crescent.
Ferguson, Mrs. Haig, 7 Coates Crescent.
Ferrier, J. S., 20 Blantyre Terrace.
Finlay, Rev. W. Russell, Trashurst, Dorking, Surrey.
Finlay, W. F., W.S., 16 Belgrave Crescent.
Forrest, John L., 8 Glengyle Terrace.
Fortune, R., S.S.C., 35 Mansionhouse Road.
Fox, Charles Henry, M.D., 35 Heriot Row.

GEDDIE, JOHN, 16 Ann Street.
Gibb, James A. T., I.S.O., 8 Dalkeith Street, Portobello.
Gibson, James P., Lord Provost of Edinburgh, 33 Regent Terrace.
Gibson, Councillor James T., W.S., 14 Regent Terrace.
Gibson, Thomas, 7 Glengyle Terrace.
Giles, Arthur, F.R.S.G.S., 191 Bruntsfield Place.
Gilmour, Col. R. Gordon, of Craigmillar, The Inch, Liberton.
Gissing, Algernon, 66 Marchmont Road.
Glasse, Rev. John, D.D., 16 Tantallon Place.
Goudie, Gilbert, 31 Great King Street.
Graham, R. D., M.A., F.R.S.E., 11 Strathearn Road.
Grant, John, 39 George Square.
Grant, William, J.P., 22 Mansionhouse Road.
Gray, James, 29 Polwarth Gardens.
Gray, Robert Collie, S.S.C., 10 Hermitage Drive.
Green, Charles E., 4 St. Giles Street.
Grierson, Andrew, Depute Town Clerk, 29 Mayfield Road.
Guy, John C., Sheriff-Substitute of the Lothians and Peebles,
7 Darnaway Street.

HAMILTON, JOHN, C.A., 34 York Place.
Hardie, J. P., 15 Rothesay Place.
Harrison, John, City Treasurer, Rockville, 3 Napier Road.
Hay, William J., John Knox's House, High Street.

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Heron, Alexander, S.S.C., 14 Merchiston Park.
Hewat, Archd., F.R.S.E., F.S.A.Scot., 13 Eton Terrace.
Hogben, John, 9 Duddingston Crescent, Portobello.
Hogg, Robert, 49 Falcon Avenue.
Home, Bruce J., 5 Upper Gray Street.
Home, Robert, Artist, 64 Frederick Street.
Hunter, Thomas, W.S., Town-Clerk, City Chambers.
Hutcheson, Alexander, M.A., 4 Denham Green Avenue.

INGLIS, FRANCIS CAIRD, Rock House, Calton Hill.
Inglis, George, 1 Rillbank Terrace.
Inglis, John, 11 Hillside Street.
Inman, Councillor William, 11 Newbattle Terrace.
Irvine, Miss Emily, 65 Morningside Park.

JAMESON, JAMES H., W.S., 16 Coates Crescent.
Jamieson, James H., 54 Bruntsfield Gardens.
Johnston, George Harvey, 22 Garscube Terrace.
Johnstone, David, 75 Hanover Street.

KAY, Rev. Prof. DAVID MILLER, D.D., The University, St. Andrews.
Kay, John S., Junr., 12 Glengyle Terrace.
Kay, John Telfer, 20 London Street.
Kelly, John G., 88 Thirlestane Road.
Kemp, Alexander, 227 Dalkeith Road.
Kerr, Rev. John, M.A., The Manse, Dirleton.
King, Miss Margaret P., Osborne Nursery House, Murrayfield.
Kippen, John, M.A., Castlehill School, Lawnmarket.
Kirk, Rev. John, 17 Greenhill Gardens.

LANGWILL, H. G., M.D., F.R.C.P.E., 4 Hermitage Place, Leith.
Latimer, George Brown, 143-7 Lothian Road.
Leckie, John, Brookfield, 19 South Oswald Road.
Littlejohn, Sir Henry D., M.D., LL.D., 24 Royal Circus.
Lorimer, George, Durisdeer, Gillsland Road.
Low, E. Bruce, B.L., S.S.C., 6 Gordon Terrace.
Lowe, D. F., LL.D., 19 George Square.
Lyle, James, Waverley, Queen's Crescent.

M'ADAM, GEORGE, Anneville, Craigcrook Gardens, Blackhall.
M'Donald, A. Minto, M.B., 108 Gilmore Place.

LIST OF MEMBERS

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Macdonald Wm. Rae, F.F.A., Neidpath, Wester Coates Avenue.
 Macfarlane-Grieve, W.A., M.A., J.P., Impington Park, Cambridgeshire.
 Macfarlane, Councillor W. W., 10 Tipperlinn Road.
 Macfie, Daniel, 56 St. Alban's Road.
 MacGillivray, Pittendrigh, R.S.A., Ravelston Elms, Murrayfield.
 M'Guffie, R. A., 16 St. Andrew Square.
 Macintosh, Mrs. Mary Hay, 23a Dick Place.
 Macintyre, P. M., Advocate, 12 India Street.
 Mackay, James F., W.S., Whitehouse, Cramond Bridge.
 Mackay, John, S.S.C., 37 York Place,
 Mackay, L. M., 13 Windsor Street.
 Mackay, William, Solicitor, Inverness.
 Mackay, William, M.A., 3 Danube Street.
 M'Lean, Miss, 19 Coates Crescent.
 M'Leod, Alex. N., 6 Sylvan Place.
 M'Leod, Neil, Abden, 66 Polwarth Terrace.
 Macphail, J. R. N., 55 Great King Street.
 MacRitchie, Lewis A., 40 Princes Street.
 Maltman, A. J., 61 Brunswick Street.
 Manson, James A., Savage Club, Adelphi Terrace, London, W.C.
 Manson, William, 18 Esslemont Road.
 Martin, Baillie D. D., 27 Wester Coates Avenue.
 Martin, R. E., 20 Annandale Street.
 Maughan, Wm. C., Ivy Lodge, Musselburgh.
 Mears, Frank C., Outlook Tower, Lawnmarket.
 Melles, J. W., of Gruline, Aros, Isle of Mull.
 Melven, William, 7 Jedburgh Gardens, Kelvinside, Glasgow.
 Menzies, John R., 3 Grosvenor Crescent.
 Milne, Archibald, M.A., 108 Comiston Drive.
 Minto, John, M.A., 83 Comiston Drive.
 Mitchell, Charles, C.E., 31 India Street.
 Mitchell, William, M.A., LL.B., 27 Howe Street.
 Morris, George, 339 High Street.
 Moscrip, Councillor James, Parson's Green, Meadowbank.
 Murdoch, James C., M.A., Rector of Grammar School, 13 Albert
 Terrace, Musselburgh.
 Murdoch, Lieut.-Col. James, V.D., St. Kilda, York Road, Trinity.
 Murray, Andrew E., W.S., 43 Castle Street.

NAPIER, THEODORE, F.S.A. Scot., Balmano, 7 West Castle Road.

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OGILVIE, Rev. J. N., M.A., 15 Chalmers Crescent.
Oldrieve, W. T., F.S.I., F.S.A.Scot., 11 Merchiston Gardens.
Oliver, James, 11 Claremont Terrace.
Omond, T. S., 14 Calverley Park, Tunbridge Wells.
Orrock, Alexander, 13 Dick Place.

PATON, Rev. HENRY, M.A., Airtnoch, 184 Mayfield Road.
Paton, Henry Macleod, 16 Comiston Terrace.
Paton, Robert, City Chamberlain, City Chambers.
Paul, Sir James Balfour, LL.D., 30 Heriot Row.
Peddie, Miss Barbara, Ard-Coille, Blair Atholl.
Petrie, James A., 2 Chancelot Terrace, Ferry Road.
Plummer, W. R., 8 Huntly Street.
Price, Charles E., M.P., 10 Atholl Crescent.
Profit, Alexander P., Jacob's Land, 55 Calton Road.
Pursell, James, Rhynd Lodge, Seafield, Leith.

REID, ALAN, The Loaning, Merchiston Bank Gardens.
Reid, John, 46 Strathearn Road.
Reid, Mrs., Lauriston Castle, Midlothian.
Richardson, Ralph, W.S., 2 Parliament Square.
Robbie, J. Cameron, 22 York Place.
Robertson, William, 10 Atholl Place.
Rosebery, The Right Hon. The Earl of, K.G., K.T., Dalmeny House,
Midlothian.
Ross, Andrew, Falcon Bank, Liberton Brae.
Ross, Thomas, 14 Saxe-Cobourg Place.

SANDERSON, MISS CECILIA, Talbot House, Ferry Road.
Sanderson, Kenneth, W.S., 5 Abercromby Place.
Scott, John, W.S., 13 Hill Street.
Scougal, A. E., LL.D., H. M. Senior Chief Inspector of Schools,
1 Wester Coates Avenue.
Shepherd, Fred. P., M.A., 35 Polwarth Gardens.
Sime, David, 27 Dundas Street.
Sinclair, A. W., 17 Comely Bank Street.
Skinner, Robert T., M.A., F.R.S.E., Donaldson's Hospital.
Smail, Adam, 35 Lauriston Gardens.
Smart, John, W.S., 56 Queen Street.
Smith, George, M.A., Merchiston Castle.

LIST OF MEMBERS

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Smith, John, Cabinetmaker, 1 Eastgate, Peebles.
Smith, Malcolm, J.P., Provost of Leith, 47 Stirling Road.
Smith, Rev. R. Nimmo, LL.D., 5 St. Bernard's Crescent.
Steedman, James, 60 Morningside Drive.
Stephen, William A., M.A., M.D., Loftus-in-Cleveland, Yorkshire.
Stewart, John, 88 George Street.
Sturrock, John, Junr., Peffermill House, Craigmillar.
Sturrock, Rev. John, 3 Mansionhouse Road.
Sutherland, James B., S.S.C., 10 Royal Terrace.

THIN, GEORGE T., 7 Mayfield Terrace.
Thin, James, 22 Lauder Road.
Thin, James Hay, 2 Chalmers Crescent.
Thin, Robert, M.D., 25 Abercromby Place.
Thomson, Alexander B., M.A., 22 Lauriston Place.
Thomson, James W., Braemount, Liberton.
Thomson, Spencer C., 10 Eglinton Crescent.
Thomson, T. S., 9 Manor Place.
Thomson, William, W.S., 19 Merchiston Avenue.
Tod, Henry, W.S., 45 Castle Street.
Torrance, Miss Jessie, 54 Henderson Row.
Turnbull, George, Duncutha, Wardie Road.
Turnbull, J. M., Craigcrook Road, Blackhall.
Tyndall, F. T., 14 Coltbridge Terrace.

USHER, Sir ROBERT, Bart., 37 Drumsheugh Gardens.

VEITCH, G. Seton, Friarshall, Paisley.
Voge, Mrs., 13 Greenhill Place.

WALKER, ALEXANDER, J.P., 1 Tipperlinn Road.
Walkinshaw, Miss Jean Inglis, 11 Scotland Street.
Wallace, A. D., Craigneuk, 53 Gilmour Road.
Watherston, John, 8 Wester Coates Gardens.
Watson, Charles B. Boog, 1 Napier Road.
Watson, John, F.R.I.B.A., 24 Castle Street.
Whitson, Thomas B., C.A., 21 Rutland Street.
Whittaker, Charles R., M.D., 12 Fountainhall Road.
Williamson, Rev. Andrew Wallace, D.D. (St. Cuthbert's), 44 Palmerston Place.

Williamson, George, 178 High Street.
Williamson, J. A., Holmwood, Corstorphine.
Wilson, John, J.P., St. Helen's, West Coates.
Wilson, William B., W.S., 46 Palmerston, Place.
Wilson, William Scott, 94 Craighouse Road.
Wood, G. M., Junr., W.S., 19 Alva Street.
Wright, James, 105 Warrender Park Road.
Wright, Gordon L., 9 Cluny Terrace.
Wright, Johnstone Christie, Northfield, Colinton.

YOUNG, WILLIAM, Donaldson's Hospital.

ASSOCIATES

ANNAN, EDWARD, 14 Hertford Drive, Liscard, Cheshire.
Craig, Miss, 18 Buccleuch Place.
Davis, W. J. H. G., 65 Warrender Park Road.
Drummond, Andrew, 17 Gardner's Crescent.
Geddes, Professor Patrick, Outlook Tower, Lawnmarket.
Harper, George, 15 Oxford Street.
Lownie, James H. W., 7 Admiral Terrace.
M'Taggart, John, 5 Argyle Park Terrace.
Ritchie, Patrick, 31 Comely Bank Road.
Sinclair, John, 86 Dumbiedykes Road.
Steuart, A. Francis, 79 Great King Street.
Todd, William, 12 East Mayfield.

Old Edinburgh Club

1909

Honorary Patrons

THE LORD PROVOST, MAGISTRATES, AND COUNCIL
OF THE CITY OF EDINBURGH.

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D. F. LOWE, LL.D., 19 George Square.
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J. CAMERON ROBBIE, 22 York Place.
JAMES OLIVER, 11 Claremont Terrace.
THOMAS ROSS, Architect, 14 Saxe-Coburg Place.
WILLIAM COWAN, 47 Braid Avenue.
JOHN GEDDIE, 16 Ann Street.
WILLIAM BAIRD, Clydesdale Bank, Portobello.
JOHN HOBGEN, 9 Duddingston Crescent, Portobello.

CONSTITUTION

I. The name of the Club shall be the 'Old Edinburgh Club.'

II. The objects of the Club shall be the collection and authentication of oral and written statements or documentary evidence relating to Edinburgh; the gathering of existing traditions, legends, and historical data; and the selecting and printing of material desirable for future reference.

III. The Club shall consist of Members and Associates. The number of Members shall be limited to three hundred. Candidates for membership, either as Members or Associates, must be proposed and seconded by two Members. Applications for membership must be sent to the Secretary in writing, and shall be considered by the Council. These, if approved, shall be submitted to the first meeting of the Club there after, election being by a majority of Members present.

Associates shall have no vote or voice in the management of the affairs of the Club, but shall be entitled to free admission to the meetings and to take part in the discussion of any subject under investigation.

IV. The Annual Subscription for Members shall be 10s. 6d., and for Associates, 2s. 6d.

Subscriptions shall be payable at the commencement of each Session. Any Member or Associate whose subscription is not paid within two months after being notified by the Treasurer may then be struck off the roll by the Council.

V. The affairs of the Club shall be managed by a Council, consisting of the President, three Vice-Presidents, Secretary, Treasurer, and twelve Members. The Office-bearers shall be elected annually. Four of the Members of Council shall retire annually in rotation, and not be eligible for re-election for one year. The Council shall have power to fill up any vacancy arising throughout the year, to make bye-laws, and to appoint, for special purposes, Committees to which Members and Associates may be added. At all meetings of the Club nine shall be a quorum, and seven at meetings of Council.

VI. The Secretary shall keep proper minutes of the business and transactions, conduct official correspondence, have custody of, and be responsible for, all books, manuscripts, and other property placed in his charge, and shall submit an Annual Report of the proceedings of the Club.

VII. The Treasurer shall keep the Accounts of the Club, receive all monies, collect subscriptions, pay accounts after these have been passed by the Council, and shall present annually a duly audited statement relative thereto.

VIII. The Annual Meeting of the Club shall be held in January, at which the reports by the Secretary and Treasurer shall be read and considered, the Council and Auditors for the ensuing year elected, and any other competent business transacted.

IX. The Council shall arrange for such meetings throughout the year as they think expedient, and shall regulate all matters relative to the transactions and publications of the Club.

X. Members shall receive one copy of each of the works published by or on behalf of the Club as issued, but these shall not be supplied to any Member whose subscription is in arrear, until such has been paid.

Associates shall not be entitled to the Publications of the Club.

All papers accepted by the Council for publication shall become the property of the Club.

Contributors shall receive twenty copies of their communications. The Council shall have discretionary powers to provide additional copies for review, presentation, and supply to approved public bodies or societies.

XI. In the event of the membership falling to twelve or under, the Council shall consider as to the advisability of winding up the Club, and shall take a vote thereon of each Member whose subscription is not in arrear. Should the vote, which shall be in writing, determine that the Club be dissolved, the Council shall discharge all debts due by the Club, and shall then deposit in trust, with some recognised public institution or corporate body, any residue of funds or other properties, including all literary, artistic, and other material collected by the Club, for preservation, in order that the same may be available to students of local history in all time coming.

XII. Notice of any proposed alteration on this Constitution must be given in writing to the Secretary, to be intimated at the first meeting of the Club thereafter. Notice, embodying the full terms thereof, shall then be given by circular to each Member, not less than seven days prior to the meeting at which it is to be considered, but such proposed alteration shall not be given effect to unless supported by two-thirds of the Members present, or voting by proxy.

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